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Doctrinal Theology.

BIBLIOLOGY.

(Concluded.)

The doctrine of the inspiration of Scripture, the essentials of which have been presented in our last issue, is the cardinal topic of Bibliology. According to this doctrine, the Bible was written by divine inspiration¹⁾ inasmuch as the inspired penmen²⁾ performed their work as the personal organs³⁾ of God,⁴⁾ especially of the Holy Spirit,⁵⁾ who not only prompted and actuated them toward writing what they wrote,⁶⁾ but also suggested to them both the thoughts and the words they uttered as they wrote.⁷⁾

1) 1 Tim. 3, 16.

2) Rom. 15, 15. 1 Cor. 5, 9. 2 Cor. 2, 3. 4. 9. Gal. 1, 20. Phil. 3, 1. 1 Tim. 3, 14. 1 John 1, 4; 2, 1. 13. John 5, 46. 47. Luke 3, 4. Matt. 13, 14; 15, 7. Luke 20, 42.

3) Matt. 2, 5. 17; 8, 17; 12, 17; 13, 35; 24, 15; 27, 9. 35. Acts 2, 16; al.

4) Matt. 1, 22. Acts 4, 24. 25. Hebr. 4, 7. Rom. 9, 25; 1, 2.

5) Acts 1, 16; 28, 25. 2 Sam. 23, 1. 2. 2 Pet. 1, 19—21. 1 Pet. 1, 11. 12. Matt. 13, 11. Luke 12, 12.

6) 2 Pet. 1, 21. 2 Tim. 3, 16. Rom. 15, 18. 19. Gal. 1, 11. Jer. 30, 2.

7) Jer. 30, 2. Rom. 15, 18. 1 Thess. 2, 13. Acts 2, 4. 2 Pet. 1, 19—21. John 10, 34. 35. Matt. 22, 43. 44. Rom. 15, 9—12. Gal. 3, 16. Rom. 10, 16. 1 Pet. 3, 6. Heb. 12, 26. 27; 8, 8. 13; 7, 20. 21; 4, 7. Rom. 4, 6. 7. 9. Eph. 4, 8. 9. John 7, 42. Luke 16, 17.

Inspiration, then, is not identical with revelation. The one may be without the other, or the two may also go together. Abraham had revelation without inspiration;¹⁾ Moses and Paul wrote some things under inspiration without revelation,²⁾ and other things by both revelation and inspiration.³⁾ Neither is inspiration the same as illumination, the latter being common to all Christians,⁴⁾ while the former was restricted to the holy men of God by whom the holy Scriptures were given for our enlightenment.⁵⁾ A Scripture based upon or sprung from revelation only or resulting from illumination would not be simply and in the scriptural sense the word of God. On the other hand, inspiration does not imply a suspension or extinction of the personality or individuality of the organs employed by the Spirit of God. It is not without a peculiar purpose that God has given us the Old Testament by a variety of organs, Moses, David, Isaiah and other prophets, and the New Testament by four different evangelists and several apostles, and that Paul was not prompted to write all his epistles in the same frame of mind and under the same circumstances. God has, so to say, given us the benefit of the various talents and peculiar graces of a multitude of holy men in the composition of His own Book, thus making it an instrument of many stops varying in quality and volume of tone, but all of them sounded by the same breath and responding to the touch of the same hand upon the keys, all the melodies and harmonies originating in the same mind, the Spirit of Truth. Even when Paul gives us his judgment or "opinion,"⁶⁾ as distinguished from the commandments of God,⁷⁾ it is because God would have him speak what he there speaks, and

1) Gen. 12, 1—3.

2) Exod. 3, 1. Rom. 1, 13; 16, 1 ff. 1 Cor. 1, 14—16.

3) Gen. 1—3. 2 Thess. 2, 3—12.

4) Eph. 1, 18; 3, 9; 5, 18.

5) 2 Pet. 1, 19—21. 1 Pet. 1, 11. 12.

6) γνώμην, 1 Cor. 7, 25. 40.

7) 1 Cor. 7, 25: ἐπιταγὴν κυρίου οὐκ ἔχω.

just as he speaks, "for our profit,"¹⁾ and the Spirit of God did not in that moment withdraw his inspiring influence from the apostle, who, as one who "has the Spirit of God,"²⁾ utters what, though not intended as a "commandment of the Lord," is nevertheless given by inspiration of God. When Paul speaks of *his* expectation and hope and joy and desire,³⁾ it is because God would tell us in his word what was in the heart of his servant and apostle, even as he inspired David to utter the joy and hope and anguish of his soul in words suggested by the Spirit of God, that such Scripture also should be profitable for consolation, for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, as truly as the Sermon on the Mount or the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah.

But when we say that the doctrine of inspiration is the cardinal topic of Bibliology, we would not be understood to assert that the other points of doctrine which come under this head must be obtained and established by deduction from that central doctrine. That the doctrines of the authority, the perspicuity, the efficacy, the sufficiency, and the purposes of the Bible are in a measure implied in the statement that the Bible is the inspired word of God, is true; but it is equally true that all these points of doctrine are also explicitly set forth in express statements of Scripture, and it is from such explicit *dicta* that we derive such points of doctrine as theological truths.

The *Authority* of the Bible is that property whereby the Bible justly claims unrestricted acceptance of all its statements,⁴⁾ full assent to all its teachings,⁵⁾ unwavering confidence in all its promises,⁶⁾ willing obedience to all its demands by those whom they concern;⁷⁾ the prerogative by

1) 1 Cor. 7, 35.

2) 1 Cor. 7, 40.

3) Phil. 1, 20; 2, 2. Rom. 10, 1.

4) John 10, 35. Luke 24, 25. — Ps. 119, 160. 140. 151.

5) 2 Tim. 3, 16. 2 Thess. 2, 15. Luke 24, 25—27; 16, 29—31.

6) 1 Thess. 2, 13. 2 Cor. 1, 20. Tit. 1, 2. 3. 2 Thess. 2, 15.

7) Deut. 12, 32; 5, 9. 10. Exod. 20, 5. 6. Jam. 2, 10. Josh. 1, 8.

which it is the only infallible source and norm of doctrine¹⁾ and rule of life.²⁾—To doubt, or to lead others to doubt, or in any way to set aside any word of God, is the devil's theology, which the father of lies taught and practiced in Paradise³⁾ and in the desert,⁴⁾ and which in theory and practice permeates the rationalistic and syncretistic theology of to-day, while true theology says with David: "My heart standeth in awe of thy word."⁵⁾

The *Perspicuity* of the Bible is that clearness of holy writ which renders all the doctrines and precepts laid down in the inspired word freely accessible to every reader or hearer of average intelligence and sufficient knowledge of the languages employed and of a mind not in a manner pre-occupied by error as to preclude the apprehension of the truths themselves however clearly set forth in words of human speech.⁶⁾

The *Efficacy* of the Bible is that property by which the Bible has indissolubly united⁷⁾ with the true and genuine sense expressed in its words⁸⁾ the power of the Holy Spirit,⁹⁾ who has made it for all times the ordinary means by which he operates¹⁰⁾ on and in the hearts and minds of those who properly hear or read it.¹¹⁾

The *Sufficiency* of the Bible is that perfection according to which the Bible contains all that is necessary for the achievement of its ends and aims.¹²⁾

1) Luke 16, 29. 2 Tim. 3, 15—17. Jer. 8, 9; 23, 16.—1 Cor. 14, 37. Is. 8, 19. 20. Gal. 1, 8. Acts 17, 11; 15, 14. 15.

2) Luke 16, 29. 2 Tim. 3, 16.

3) Gen. 3, 1. 4. 5.

4) Matt. 4, 3—10. Luke 4, 3—12.

5) Ps. 119, 161.

6) Ps. 119, 105; 130. 2 Pet. 1, 19. Ps. 19, 8. Eph. 3, 3. 4. John 8, 31. 32.—2 Cor. 4, 3. 4. John 8, 43—45. 47. 2 Pet. 3, 15. 16.

7) Rom. 1, 16. 1 Thess. 2, 13.

8) Eph. 3, 3. 4. Acts 8, 30. 31. 34.

9) Rom. 1, 16. 1 Thess. 1, 5.

10) Ps. 19, 8; 119, 105. 130. 2 Pet. 1, 19. 2 Tim. 3, 16. 17.

11) Rev. 1, 3. Eph. 3, 3. 4. John 7, 17.

12) Is. 8, 20. Luke 16, 29—31. 2 Tim. 3, 16. 17.

The *Purposes* of the Bible are, to convey to the understanding of men the truths and precepts of Scripture;¹⁾ to convert the unregenerate,²⁾ to preserve and strengthen the faith of the regenerate,³⁾ to rear them in holiness of life,⁴⁾ to afford them consolation in their afflictions,⁵⁾ and to furnish weapons of offense and defense to combat error and falsehood conflicting with God's truth,⁶⁾ and all this for the glory of God and for man's eternal salvation.⁷⁾

It is not our purpose here to balance accounts with all the various objections raised against the several bibliological statements laid down in this series of definitions descriptive of the properties and purposes of the Bible. In fact, the only stricture we could not avoid to face would be that we had failed to substantiate a specified point by the testimony of Scripture. We repeat that Bibliology is a matter of faith, not of opinion or reasoning, and there is no essential difference between Bibliology and Christology in this respect. If holy Scripture is "profitable for doctrine" at all, it is certainly and first of all profitable for doctrine concerning itself, its origin, properties, and purposes, and one single plain *dictum* of Scripture is fully and amply sufficient to establish any point of doctrine therein set forth, as surely as "all Scripture," *πᾶσα γραφή*, each and every Scripture, every word that is written by inspiration of God, is profitable for doctrine, and "cannot be broken,"⁸⁾ being the word of God, who is at all times and everywhere *ἀψευδής θεός*,⁹⁾ who can neither err nor lie.

1) Eph. 3, 3. 4. Rom. 3, 20. Luke 24, 25—27. 2 Tim. 3, 16. Rom. 15, 4. 2 Tim. 3, 15. Ps. 119, 104. 130. 19, 8.

2) Ps. 19, 7. Luke 16, 29—31. 2 Chron. 34, 27.

3) Luke 24, 25—27. John 20, 31.

4) 2 Tim. 3, 16. 17. John 17, 17. Ps. 119, 9. 43 f.

5) Rom. 15, 4. Ps. 119, 49 f. 92.

6) Acts 18, 24. 28. 2 Tim. 3, 16. Ps. 119, 41—43.

7) John 20, 31; 5, 39. 2 Tim. 3, 15. —Ps. 138, 1 f. 4; 119, 171.

8) 2 Tim. 3, 16. John 10, 35.

9) Tit. 1, 2.

It is, therefore, no argument at all, when the impugn-ers of our Bibliology as of our Theology at large object that our mode of establishing doctrines by quoting detached passages of Scripture is inadmissible, that only the Bible in its entirety, "*das Schriftganze*," and not such "scraps and particles of Scripture," can establish the character and claims of Scripture. This effort to get rid of the testimony of the Bible cannot even bear the test of common sense. We hold that the Constitution of the United States is the established will, not of an individual or of an assembly, but of the *people of this country*. How do we know this, or how are we to prove our assertion? Simply from and by the words of the Constitution, which says in its Preamble: "*We, the people of the United States . . . do ordain and establish this Constitution.*" This quotation has lost nothing whatever of its pertinence or force by the omission indicated, nor by the fact that the whole document is not quoted at length, provided that the quotation be really a true and complete statement of that document to the point at issue. The fact is in this case that while by the above quotation we have made our point, we might quote the whole document, omitting those words of the Preamble, and fail to make our point. But if we would know or show what the Constitution says on the powers of the President, we should turn, not to the Preamble nor to the First Amendment, but to Art. II, Sect. 2 and 3, and only a fool would find fault with us. Thus, also, when we would know and show what the Bible teaches concerning its origin, authority, etc., it is certainly very proper that we investigate, quote, and expound those passages which are intended to give us and others light on those subjects, however long or short, few or many, such passages may be. And for this practice we have fully sufficient precedent in Scripture itself, in the instances too numerous to quote, where Christ and the Apostles refer to texts from Moses and the Prophets. That such texts are cited without their context does not im-

ply a disregard of the context; it is often by a very careful consideration of the context and the real and verbal parallels that the dogmatician will find and show forth the finest points of doctrine contained in the text, and he will be a sorry dogmatician who neglects exegetical theology. But though a richer light may be shed upon a text from its context, it must not be forgotten that the text which is a *sedes doctrinae* is also in itself a light, is true in itself, and has its divine authority in itself, because of its own divine origin, not by virtue of its context. To reject even a detached statement of Scripture or the sense conveyed by the terms thereof, is to reject the word of God, and the simple sentence, "God is love,"¹⁾ is in and by itself as truly Scripture, a light unto our path and the power of God, as the whole epistle of St. John or any book of Scripture or all the Scriptures of both Testaments taken together. All this is also substantiated by express testimony of Scripture, when Christ and St. John apply the term "Scripture" to detached passages of the written word,²⁾ Scripture which cannot be broken, Scripture which must be fulfilled.

But while we thus maintain the unquestionable propriety of the use we make of particular texts of Scripture as *sedes doctrinae*, as source and norm of doctrine in Bibliology and elsewhere, we are fully aware of a vast difference between certain books and passages of Scripture and others of equal authority, but of lesser clearness and importance. The same degrees of clearness and importance do not always go together. "One star differeth from another star in glory."³⁾ Vega and Altair are stars of the first magnitude, and the Polar star is not; but the latter has been sought and found and followed by thousands who never knew the names or places of either of the former. Thus also 2 Thess. 2, 3 ff., though containing some clauses which have been

1) 1 John 4, 8. 16.

2) John 10, 35; cf. Ps. 82, 6; and John 19. 37; cf. Zech. 12, 10.

3) 1 Cor. 15, 41.

variously interpreted also by orthodox theologians, is doubtless of greater importance than many very plain passages in Joshua and Judges. But also among texts treating of the same subjects, there are those of greater and those of lesser clearness. What Daniel and the Apocalypse say of Antichrist is less clear than what we have in 2 Thess. 2. In Isaiah 53 the vicarious atonement is more clearly taught than in the Messianic psalms. "*Novum Testamentum in Vetere latet, Vetus in Novo patet.*" Christ spoke in parables sometimes, at other times he spoke plainly and directly, and speeches of both kinds are recorded in the Gospels. And here it should be noted that the cause of the difference may be either in the text, or in the reader, or in both. The way of salvation was revealed in the Old Testament as by moonlight; we see it in the New Testament as in the sunshine at noon. But we have doubtless observed that eyes thereto accustomed see many things by moonlight which the eyes of one coming from a brightly lighted hall will fail to see. Thus we may be sure that God's children in Israel of old saw Christ in the Old Testament far more clearly and distinctly than we do when we read Moses and the Prophets, and some of them even more clearly than many sore-eyed or drowsy Christians see him in the Gospels and St. Paul. A trained eye, accustomed to microscopic research, will see many things by the same light and through the same instrument which will reveal little to the untrained eye and nothing to the eye with a cataract. Thus the Apostles learned to understand many things in Scripture and the teachings of their Master at a later day, although at an earlier day "they understood none of these things, and this saying was hid from them, neither knew they the things which were spoken."¹) On the other hand it is true that also in the New Testament, as in the Epistles of St. Paul, there are, as St. Peter says, "some things hard to be under-

1) Luke 18, 34; cf. John 14, 26.

stood.”¹⁾ We may think of 2 Thess. 2, as being enigmatic to the Christians of those days, when Antichrist had not yet developed into maturity, and of such chapters as Rom. 9 to 11, which, because of their subject matter, are, as Luther says, strong wine, not intended for infants in spiritual life or in theology. But Luther also points to the days of affliction under the cross as the proper time at which those chapters will be better understood and duly appreciated. You may not see the stars of heaven by day from your parlor windows; but go down to the bottom of a mining shaft and look up, and you will see them. Thus from the depths of sorrow and anguish many of the texts of Scripture often looked upon as obscure or of little consequence become so many kindly lights beaming forth comfort and strength and wisdom from on high. We have personal knowledge of a case in which the troubled conscience of a Christian was relieved by Paul’s request to Timothy to bring with him the cloak the apostle had left at Troas,²⁾ a text which has often been set down as of no practical use in the world and too trivial to be looked upon as given by divine inspiration. Many *dicta* of Scripture were brought into prominence by the controversies forced upon Christians and their teachers by errorists within and assailants without the pale of the church, and what may have previously appeared obscure or irrelevant was then on close inspection found to be most telling and convincing, and this increased familiarity with and deeper insight into the inspired word is one of the chief benefits accruing from doctrinal controversies properly conducted. Luther freely gave his many adversaries credit for having driven him to ransack the Scriptures and thus made him far more a *Doctor in Bibliis* than he would otherwise have been.

But does not this same Luther here and there confess that the import of a text in hand is not sufficiently clear to

1) 2 Pet. 3, 16.

2) 2 Tim. 4, 13.

him to permit him to give more than a personal opinion in its interpretation, leaving it to others to do better if they can? Yes, and there is probably no reader or interpreter of Scripture who has not met with more passages than one concerning the meaning or bearing of which he must confess a *non liquet*, although with our more exact and intimate knowledge of the original languages after centuries of philological research many difficulties no longer exist for us which were in Luther's way. Thus the more difficult parts of the holy text are but another incentive toward ever renewed obedience to Christ's admonition: "*Search the Scriptures.*" And it may be safely said that every persistent student of Scripture, especially in the original Hebrew and Greek, may expect to find in God's inexhaustible storehouse this and that which perhaps no other eye had yet discovered, or which, at any rate, has nowhere been pointed out in any commentary or postil within his reach, although no other book has been so largely studied and so extensively expounded as the Bible. Even a lesson which we may ourselves have read and carefully studied ninety and nine times, may reveal to us new beauties as we read or study it the hundredth time.

Nor is the work of searching the Scriptures like working in the gold-diggings, where the precious metal must be by some process separated from the surrounding or intermingled dross. In the earlier Luther we find some things which the later and maturer Luther himself discountenanced and pronounced fit for the fire. But the theology of Moses is as pure as that of Peter, and that of Isaiah as unalloyed as that of Paul. Whatever progress there is, is in quantity, not in quality. The New Testament was not composed to supplant or supersede, much less to correct the Old. Paul "believed all things which are written in the law and in the prophets,"¹⁾ and "said none other things than those

1) Acts 24, 14.

which the prophets and Moses did say should come." 1) The holy Scriptures which Timothy had known from a child, which were the books of the Old Testament, were by the apostle pronounced "able to make him wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus." 2) Christ and the apostles often appeal to, but never and in no point disavow the Old Testament Scriptures, nor does Christ correct those who "thought that in them they had eternal life," but admonished them to search those Scriptures. 3) Neither did the Old Testament Scripture lack the property of *sufficiëntia*; the Old Testament was just as truly sufficient for the church of the Old Testament to the fulness of time 4) as the whole Bible is sufficient for the church to the end of time. 5) Both, the Old Testament and the New, being with equal truth and in the same sense the word of God, 6) both are of the same divine *authority* and *efficacy*, and the *purposes* of both are, likewise, the same. 7) The Bibliology, Theology proper, Cosmology, Christology, Soteriology, and Eschatology of the Old Testament being, therefore, materially the same as of the New, and laid down in both for essentially the same purposes, it is with full propriety that we draw and substantiate our doctrinal statements on all these topics from the Old and the New Testaments alike and indiscriminately and thus employ the whole Bible as the source and norm of doctrine and rule of life.

On the other hand, we concede this dignity *only* to the Bible, the canonical books of the Old and the New Testaments. While we consider a doctrine fully and sufficiently established, though it were clearly and indisputably set forth in but one passage of Scripture, as the doctrine of Christ's

1) Acts 26, 22.

2) 2 Tim. 3, 15.

3) John 5, 39.

4) Luke 16, 29. 31.

5) Hebr. 1, 1. 2.

6) Rom. 3, 2. 2 Tim. 3, 16.—1 Thess. 2, 13. 2 Thess. 2, 15.—1 Cor. 14, 37.

7) Ps. 119, 104. 130. Ps. 19, 7. 8. Ps. 119, 9. 43 f. 49 f. 92. Ps. 138, 1 f. 4. Ps. 119, 171. John 5, 39. 2 Tim. 3, 15. 16. Rom. 15, 4.—John 20, 31. 1 John 1, 3. 4; 2, 12—14. Tit. 1, 9.

descent into hell in 1 Pet. 3, 18—20, we deny the dignity of a Christian doctrine to any tenet not taken in all its parts from holy Scripture, though it were built up and confirmed by a score of arguments and with inexorable logic to the full satisfaction of a philosophical mind. For theological truths we do not look to human reason, but “to the law and the testimony,”¹⁾ and to that only. He who would establish and occupy a royal throne in England beside that of her Majesty the Queen would be as truly a rebel as he who would depose the queen and usurp her crown and throne. And, in like manner, to endow a product of philosophical reasoning with the dignity of a Christian doctrine, though without an explicit denial of the authority of Scripture, is an insurrection in the Church of God, who will not give his glory to another.²⁾ For the same reason no interpretation of Scripture can be allowed to stand which is at variance with Scripture or any part thereof; for God cannot be at variance with himself,³⁾ and his word is truth.⁴⁾ Neither must any interpretation as such be allowed to claim authenticity or infallibility, unless it be an interpretation given or furnished by Scripture itself,⁵⁾ which is the infallible word of God and therefore also its own and only authentic and infallible interpreter. Nor is the exclusive right of interpreting the Scriptures and determining their sense and import restricted to any individual or category of men, nor to the church at large, represented in synods and councils; but every Christian and congregation of Christians is competent to search the Scriptures. To Christians and congregations of Christians the apostles directed their epistles, and not only certain chapters, but the entire epistles. St. Paul charges all the Christians in Galatia to

1) Is. 8, 20.

2) Is. 42, 8.

3) 2 Tim. 2, 13.

4) John 17, 17.

5) Matt. 1, 22 f. cf. Is. 7, 14. Luke 4, 21. cf. Is. 61, 1. Gal. 3, 16. cf. Gen. 22, 18. Matt. 13, 37 ff. cf. v. 24—30. Eph. 4, 10 f. cf. Ps. 68, 18. Rom. 11, 6. cf. v. 5, al.

sit in judgment over the doctrine of their teachers and to apply the teachings of Paul as the norm of doctrine, whereby every teacher, and though he be an angel from heaven, must suffer himself to be tried and judged by the Christian people.¹⁾ This is the right of private judgment, not the right of sitting in judgment over the Scripture, but the right of judging teachers and their doctrines by the Scriptures, a right and duty not confined to Popes or Synods or theological Faculties, but which every Christian may and should exercise upon Popes and Synods and theological teachers in chairs and pulpits and in public print. *This* right of private judgment does not violate the dignity of the Bible, but rather acknowledges and reasserts the majesty of the word of God and again presupposes or implies the doctrine of the *authority*, the *perspicuity*, and the *sufficiency* of Scripture.

And thus it is that the written Word is also for all times the safeguard of true liberty of conscience, of which St. Paul speaks Gal. 5, 1. A Christian's conscience must not be bound by anything save the word of God, and every effort of man to put any other constraint upon any man's conscience is a tyrannical usurpation of authority, and tantamount to an insurrection in the church, which the Christians themselves must put down by the sword of the Spirit, the word of God.²⁾ To suffer and tolerate such imposition of a man-made yoke upon his own or another man's neck is not commendable meekness, but reprehensible weakness in a Christian, for which the Apostle severely reprimands the Corinthians and all who expose themselves to like censure.³⁾ A Christian should promptly resent every attempt at such imposition not only as an indignity inflicted upon himself, but also as an affront and insult directed against God and his holy Word, even as a faithful bride will resent as an

1) Gal. 1, 6—9. cf. Acts 17, 11. 12. Matt. 7, 15 ff. Col. 2, 8. 1 John 4, 1.

2) Gal. 5, 1. Col. 2, 16—23.

3) 2 Cor. 11, 1—4. 19. 20.

ignominious offense against herself and her husband any other man's pretensions to that authority over her which no one but her husband may lawfully hold and exercise.¹⁾

But the maintenance and enjoyment of such freedom of conscience is secured to every Christian only inasmuch and forasmuch as the Bible is an authoritative, clear and sufficient rule of life. When a Christian solicits an opinion of a theologian or theological faculty, or when a congregation asks a synod or an officer of synod for assistance in the adjudication of a case of church discipline, the meaning of such requests can only be that those who are so called upon would assist the petitioners in finding and properly applying what God has spoken concerning the question or case at issue, and hence such recourse to such assistance is by no means a setting aside of the exclusive authority, or a denial of the sufficiency, of Scripture in matters of conscience, nor a relinquishment of the right and duty of the congregation and its individual members to apply the scriptural norm, but an earnest endeavor to exercise that right and perform that duty of judging all things according to the law and the testimony, the infallible word of God. The difficulty in such cases is not a lack of clearness and distinctness of the norm, but a vagueness or complexity in the features or circumstances of the case, which renders it difficult to decide in what category and under what rule the matter to be adjudicated should properly come.

But what of the Creeds or Confessions of the church? Do we not term them norms of doctrine and use them as such? We do; but not in the same sense in which we consider Scripture a norm of doctrine. Scripture is *norma normans*; a creed is *norma normata*. The Augsburg Confession is true because it says what Scripture says, and for this and no other reason every doctrine is false which disagrees with what the Augsburg Confession says. In Scripture *God*

1) 2 Cor. 11, 2. Eph. 5, 23 f. John 3, 29.

tells *us* what we *should* believe; in the Confessions *we* tell *others* what we *do* believe. We believe the doctrine we confess, because we know it to be the doctrine of Scripture; and we confess the doctrine we believe, because we would have others know it to be our doctrine. What is the doctrine of Scripture can be ascertained from Scripture only; but what is the doctrine of the Lutheran church can be ascertained from the Lutheran Confessions. The agreement of Lutheran doctrine with holy Scripture stamps the former orthodox; and therefore the disagreement of a doctrine with either stamps that doctrine heterodox. Thus it is that by virtue of their full agreement with Scripture the Lutheran Symbols are applied as a norm of orthodoxy without any disparagement of Scripture or of its normative dignity. To decry the Confessions as a "paper Pope" under the pretense of upholding the majesty of Scripture manifests a grievous ignorance of the nature of the Confessions, or of the Pope, or of both.

In this connection we deem it our duty to touch upon another controverted point. Our fathers have been severely taken to task on both sides of the Atlantic because of our maintenance of the principle that Scripture must be interpreted according to the Symbols of the church. This, it was said, is a palpable perversion of the relation between Scripture and the Confessions, making the latter the norm of the former, elevating the Symbols to the dignity of *norma normans* and degrading Scripture to the position of *norma normata*. What do we say? We say, this grave charge is utterly groundless and rests on an equally grave confusion of terms on the part of our faultfinders. They have simply confounded "interpretation" with "judgment" or "criticism." If we claimed that Scripture must be judged or criticised according to the Confessions, we would stand corrected. But far from maintaining that the Symbols were a norm of *Scripture*, our fathers have held and we still hold that the Confessions are and should be a norm of the *inter-*

pretation of Scriptures; that is, not Scripture itself, but the work of the interpreters or expounders of Scripture, must be approved or rejected according as it is in harmony or at variance with the confessions of the orthodox church. The work of interpretation is human, the work of fallible men. The Confessions of the orthodox church are a correct exhibition of the doctrine of Scripture; or they would not be the Confessions of the *orthodox* church; and that doctrine is therefore divine; or it would not be the doctrine of Scripture, the word of God. Now, which of the two should be normative in its relation to the other, the human work of fallible men, or the divine doctrine of infallible God, Mr. Meyer and other rationalistic commentators, or the doctrine taken from Isaiah and St. Paul? We ask any Christian: is the Apostles' Creed the truth? If it is, are not the words: "The third day He arose again from the dead," sufficient reason for any Christian to reject the elaborate comments of Mr. Renan on the Gospel narrative in his chapter on the resurrection of Christ?¹⁾ Or should he review and remodel, cut down and garble that creed of Christendom according to this or any other interpreter or misinterpreter of Scripture? No. While it is true that the Symbols of the church must be judged by the Scriptures and accepted because of their conformity with Scripture, the divine *norma normans* of all doctrine: it is equally true that the interpretation of Scripture must be in conformity with the doctrine of Scripture or, which is the same, with the correct exhibitions of that doctrine, the Confessions of the orthodox church, and that every interpretation which is incompatible with such doctrine must be false, as being in conflict with Scripture itself, which cannot be broken. Our assailed principle of interpretation is simply that of St. Paul, who says: "*Let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith.*"²⁾ A. G.

1) Renan, The Apostles, ch. 1.

2) Rom. 12, 6: *εἴτε προφητείαν, κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως.*

THE PROPER FORM OF A LOCAL CONGREGATION OF
THE EV. LUTHERAN CHURCH INDEPENDENT
OF THE STATE.¹⁾

By † Dr. C. F. W. Walther.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

§ 1.

An evangelical Lutheran local congregation is a gathering of believing Christians at a definite place, among whom the word of God is preached in its purity according to the Confessions of the evangelical Lutheran church and the holy sacraments are administered according to Christ's institution as recorded in the Gospel, in whose society, however, false Christians and hypocrites will always, and manifest sinners may sometimes, exist.

§ 2.

A congregation is independent of the state when the state leaves it to such congregation in all things to govern itself.

§ 3.

In order to learn what constitutes the proper form of an ev. Luth. congregation independent of the state, it is

1) The paragraphs here translated were originally prepared by Prof. Walther for the doctrinal discussions of a District Synod in 1862, and published by request with extensive notes the following year in a book bearing the title: "Die rechte Gestalt einer vom Staate unabhängigen evangelisch-lutherischen Ortsgemeinde."

necessary to ascertain from the word of God chiefly *two* things: first, wherein its *rights* and *duties*, and secondly, wherein the proper *exercise* of such rights and duties, consist.

CHAPTER I.

Of the rights of a Lutheran local congregation independent of the State.

§ 4.

All the *rights* to which an ev. Luth. local congregation is entitled, are included in the keys of the kingdom of heaven, which the Lord has originally and immediately given to his entire church, and in such manner, that they belong to each congregation, the smallest as well as the largest, in like measure.

Matt. 16, 15—19; 18, 17—20. John 20, 20. 23.

§ 5.

That with the keys of the kingdom of heaven every ev. Luth. local congregation has the entire church-power which it needs, that is, the power and authority to perform everything that is requisite for its government, is, furthermore, confirmed by the fact that the true members of such congregation, viz., the believing Christians therein contained, are in holy Scripture described as "priests and kings before God," or, "the royal priesthood," anointed, Christ's affianced bride, Christ's body, in and among whom Christ dwells, equal brethren, they whose all things are; while the preachers are described as its stewards and servants; and that the congregation itself is represented as the supreme tribunal.

1 Pet. 2, 5. 9. Rev. 1, 6.—1 John 2, 20. 27.—2 Cor. 11, 2. cf. Ps. 68, 13.—1 Cor. 12, 27. Matt. 18, 20.—Matt. 23, 8—10.—1 Cor. 3, 21—23.—1 Cor. 4, 1. 2 Cor. 4, 5.—Matt. 18, 15—18.

CHAPTER II.

Of the duties of an ev. Luth. local congregation independent of the state.

§ 6.

It is, in the first place, the duty of the congregation to carefully see to it that the word of God may richly dwell and have full and free scope in its midst.

Col. 3, 16.

§ 7.

It is a second duty of the congregation to care for the purity of doctrine and life in its midst and, therefore, in both these respects to exercise discipline upon its members.

Matt. 18, 15—18. Rom. 16, 17. 1 Cor. 5, 1—13; 6, 1—8. 2 Cor. 2, 6—11. Gal. 6, 1. 1 Thess. 5, 14. 2 Thess. 3, 6. 14. 15. 2 John 10. 11.

§ 8.

It is a third duty of the congregation to have at heart also the temporal welfare of all its members, that they may not suffer want of the necessities of life, nor be forsaken in any need.

Gal. 6, 10. Deuter. 15, 4. Rom. 12, 13. Gal. 2, 9. 10. Jam. 1, 27. 1 Thess. 4, 11. 12.

§ 9.

It is the duty of the congregation to see that in its midst "all things be done decently and in order," and to "provide for honest things, not only in the sight of the Lord, but also in the sight of men."

1 Cor. 14, 33. 40. 2 Cor. 8, 20. 21. Col. 2, 5.

§ 10.

It is the duty of the congregation to endeavor to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of love and peace also with other parts of the orthodox church.

Eph. 4, 3. 1 Thess. 4, 9. 10. Rom. 15, 26. 27. 2 Cor. 8, 19.

§ 11.

It is also incumbent upon the congregation to perform its share in the cause of upbuilding and promoting the church at large.

Amos 6, 6. Acts 11, 21—23; 15, 1 ff.

CHAPTER III.

Of the performance of the rights and duties of an ev. Luth. local congregation independent of the state.

A.

SECTION I.

Of the meetings of the congregation.

§ 12.

In order that the rights and duties of every free local congregation may be conscientiously and profitably performed in a manner well-pleasing in God's sight, it is necessary to have public meetings, properly arranged and conducted, for the purpose of deliberating, resolving upon and executing such acts as are requisite for its self-government.

Matt. 18, 17. 1 Cor. 5, 4. Acts 21, 17—22; 6, 2; 15, 30. 1 Tim. 5, 20.

§ 13.

All the adult male members of the congregation are entitled to active participation in the transactions of such meetings by way of speaking, deliberating, voting, and

resolving; but women and the young are excluded from such participation.

Matt. 18, 17. 18. Acts 1, 15. 23—26; 15, 5. 12. 13. 22. 23. 1 Cor. 5, 2; 6, 2; 10, 15; 12, 7. 2 Thess. 3, 15. —1 Cor. 14, 34. 35. 1 Pet. 5, 5.

§ 14.

The external management of the meetings rests with those who in general supervise the congregation or to whom the external government of the congregation has been entrusted as a special office.

Acts 15, 6. 1 Tim. 5, 17. Rom. 12, 8, 1 Cor. 12, 28.

§ 15.

The subjects of deliberation and action in such meetings are matters of doctrine, election or appointment of church officers, church discipline, public offenses, quarrels among members, matters of good order and ceremonial, and others.

Acts 15.—Acts 1, 15—26; 6, 1—6. 2 Cor. 8, 19.—Matt. 18, 17—20. 1 Cor. 5, 1—5. 2 Cor. 2, 6—11. 1 Tim. 5, 20.—Acts 21, 20—22.—1 Cor. 6, 1—8.—1 Cor. 14, 26—40; 16, 1. 2.

§ 16.

Matters of doctrine and conscience must be disposed of unanimously and according to the word of God and the Confessions of the church. If it should occur that anything were decided or determined by the congregation against the word of God, such decision or determination is null and void and must be so declared and revoked.

Is. 8, 20. 1 Cor. 16, 14; 14, 40. Col. 2, 5.

§ 17.

That all things may be done decently and in order, and lest charity be infringed, the meeting must be pre-

viously announced and a time of meeting must be set which should, if possible, be convenient to all the members. Those who thereupon fail to appear, thereby and for such case waive their right of vote. For the sake of love and peace and needful prudence it is advisable that important resolutions concerning matters which admit of postponement should obtain the validity of resolutions of the congregation only when they have been confirmed in the subsequent meeting.

§ 18.

The essentials of the transactions should be put on record by a secretary thereto appointed; at the close of the meeting such record should be read, necessary corrections should be made, and the correctness of the minutes should be finally acknowledged by a vote. These minutes should be again read at the beginning of the subsequent meeting.

Acts 15, 23—31.

§ 19.

The Pastor opens and closes the meeting with prayer; in case of his absence a prayer is read by a person thereto appointed.

Matt. 18, 19. Acts 6, 4.

B.

SECTION II.

Of the performance of the duty of a congregation to see that the word of God may richly dwell and have free scope in its midst.

§ 20.

The performance of this duty consists, first of all, in the establishment and maintenance of the public ministry in the congregation.

Tit. 1, 5. Eph. 4, 11. 14.

§ 21.

Due care for the establishment and maintenance of the public ministry in a congregation comprises, in the first place, the choice and calling of a minister. For the proper performance of this highly important act according to God's word and with united earnest supplication to God, the congregation will, if possible, request the assistance of one or more experienced ministers already in office, avail itself of their advice and, if they can be present, entrust to them the direction of the public election. Every member entitled to vote is permitted to propose a candidate. After due deliberation according to 1 Tim. 3, 2—7; Tit. 1, 6—9; 2 Tim. 2, 15. 24—26, as to the eligibility of each of the men proposed, those who have been found eligible are acknowledged as candidates, and the candidate who receives all or an absolute majority of the votes is recognized and accepted as the person whom God has called through the congregation. Pursuant to this election a written call is drawn up, read to the congregation, and upon its approval signed in the name of the congregation by the church wardens or other persons thereto appointed, and sent to the person called. In this document the person called is to be pledged by the congregation to adherence to the apostolic and prophetic Scriptures of the Old and the New Testaments as the word of God, as also to the public confessions of the evangelical Lutheran church, and to the faithful administration of the holy office in all its parts. In said written call the congregation should at the same time promise to recognize the person called as its shepherd, teacher and overseer, to receive as the word of God the divine word preached by him, to obey him, love him, be at peace with him, honor him and provide for his sustenance. If the person thus called accepts such call, the congregation will, where it is possible, set him before orthodox ministers already in office, in order that they may "prove"

or examine him, if this has not already been done, and by public ordination, according to apostolic usage, declare him duly called, and pledge and confirm him, or publicly and solemnly install him in his office.

Tit. 1, 5. cf. Acts 1, 15—26; 6, 1—6; 14, 23.—Acts 1, 2. 3.—1 Cor. 16, 3.—Col. 4, 17. cf. Acts 15, 23; 26, 22; 20, 20. 21. 26. 27. 2 Tim. 1, 13. 14. 8; 4, 2. 5. 1 Pet. 5, 1—4.—Luke 10, 16. 1 Thess. 5, 12; 2, 13. Heb. 13, 17. 1 Thess. 5, 13. 1 Tim. 5, 17. Luke 10, 7. 1 Cor. 9, 13. 14. Gal. 6, 6.—Acts 6, 6.—1 Tim. 3, 10.—1 Tim. 4, 14.—Acts 13, 2. 3.

§ 22.

In order that the word of God may have free scope in a congregation, public services on Sundays and customary festivals, as also on certain weekdays, especially during advent and lent, annual days of humiliation and prayer, harvest-feasts, thanksgiving-days, and other holydays, and public catechization of the young, should be introduced and earnestly, though not as under legal constraint, observed.

Luke 11, 28. Acts 2, 46. Hebr. 10, 24. 25. Acts 2, 11. —2 Tim. 3, 15.—Gal. 4, 10. 11. Col. 2, 16. 17.

§ 23.

In order that the word of God may have full scope in a congregation, it is, furthermore, incumbent upon the congregation that its members have their children baptized without delay by their minister as the steward of the mysteries of God; that they have their young people prepared by him for the full enjoyment of the means of grace and in due time publicly confirmed; that they frequently ask and receive of him the comfort of absolution and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and that after previous ex-

ploration and confession; that they have him publicly solemnize and bless by the word of God and prayer the marriage of their betrothed; that in sickness and death and other afflictions and tribulations they avail themselves of his instruction and consolation from the word of God, and, finally, that they give their dead a Christian burial.

1 Cor. 4, 1. Mark 10, 13 ff.—Matt. 21, 15. 16.—John 20, 23. 2 Cor. 2, 10. 1 Cor. 11, 20. 26.—Heb. 13, 17. cf. 1 Cor. 4, 1. Matt. 7, 6.—1 Cor. 7, 39. 1 Tim. 4, 3—5.—Jam. 5, 14. 15.—Acts 8, 2.

§ 24.

In order that the word of God may richly dwell in a congregation, the congregation should, furthermore, if possible, establish an evangelical Lutheran school for children, and for this purpose in Christian order call and employ an orthodox, godly, and otherwise competent teacher, pledge him also to adherence to the divine word of the Old and the New Testaments and the Confessions of the Lutheran church, and place him under the supervision of the public ministry.

Matt. 18, 10. Eph. 6, 4. Gen. 18, 19. Deuter. 6, 6. 7. 2 Tim. 3, 15. Rom. 2, 20.—1 John 2, 13. Heb. 13, 17. Acts 20, 28.

§ 25.

In order that the word of God may have full scope in a congregation, the congregation should, lastly, tolerate no divisions by way of conventicles, that is, of meetings for instruction and prayer aside from the divinely ordained public ministry.

1 Cor. 11, 18. Jam. 3, 1. 1 Cor. 12, 29; 14, 28. Acts 6, 4. Rom. 10, 15.

C.

SECTION III.

Of the performance of the duty of a congregation to see to the purity of doctrine and life and in both these respects to exercise church discipline upon its members.

§ 26.

It is the duty of all the members of a congregation to strive that they may grow and be enriched in all utterance and in all knowledge, that they may not continue to be children, tossed to and fro and carried about with every wind of doctrine, but try and judge by the word of God the doctrine preached to them.

2 Pet. 3, 18. 1 Cor. 1, 5.—Eph. 4, 14. Heb. 5, 12.—Acts 17, 11. Matt. 7, 15. 16. 1 John 4, 1. 1 Cor. 10, 15.

§ 27.

The congregation should establish in its midst also the office of such elders as do not labor in the word and doctrine, but assist the minister, who has the office of the word, in the government and the maintenance of discipline and good order in the congregation. The requisites for eligibility must be determined according to Acts 6, 3; 1 Tim. 3, 8—12.¹⁾

1 Tim. 5, 17.—Rom. 12, 8. 1 Cor. 12, 28.

§ 28.

The congregation must see that none but pure church- and school-books, recognized by the orthodox church, be

1) Although these apostolic precepts do not primarily refer to ruling elders or wardens, but to deacons or almoners, yet, if the apostles made these demands on those who were occupied merely with the disbursement of the alms of the congregation, they should doubtless be made in even a higher degree upon ruling elders.

introduced and tolerated in its midst, and that the confessional ceremonies be retained.

1 Thess. 5, 21. 2 Tim. 1, 13.—Gal. 2, 4. 5.

§ 29.

Such only are to be admitted to membership by the congregation as 1, are baptized; 2, if adults, make profession of their faith that the holy Scriptures of the Old and the New Testaments are the word of God, and that the doctrine contained in the Confessions of the evangelical Lutheran church, especially in Luther's Small Catechism and the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, is the pure Christian doctrine; and, 3, lead an unoffensive Christian life.

Eph. 5, 25. 26. 1 Cor. 12, 13.—Gal. 2, 4. 2 Cor. 6, 14. 15. 17. 2 John 10. 11. Eph. 4, 3—6.—1 Cor. 5, 9—13; 10, 21. Matt. 7, 6.

§ 30.

It is the duty of the congregation to investigate in public meeting according to the word of God and with hearing of witnesses the causes of such of its members as are reported as having been in doctrine or life disobedient to the word of God and unsuccessfully admonished according to Matt. 18, 15. 16, in private as well as in the presence of witnesses, or whose false doctrine or sin is open and known to everyone; to convince of their error or sin, admonish and reprove those who have been found guilty; to publicly expel from the congregation or excommunicate through the minister of the word pursuant to a unanimous resolution those who will not hear the congregation and impenitently and obstinately persist in fundamental error or manifest mortal sin; to deny further fraternal recognition to such excommunicates, but hold them as heathen men and publicans, deny them the rights of a brother and put an end to fraternal intercourse with them; to proceed with Christian

discipline against such as refuse to consent to such excommunication; but to publicly absolve and readmit those in whom the excommunication has achieved its purpose and who have, therefore, penitently returned.

Matt. 18, 15. 16.—2 Cor. 13, 1.—2 Cor. 2, 6. 2 Thess. 3, 14. 15. 1 Tim. 5, 20. Gal. 2, 14.—Matt. 18, 17—20. 1 Cor. 5, 1—5. Rom. 16, 17. Tit. 3, 10. 11. 2 Tim. 2, 17—21.—1 Cor. 5, 1. 2.—2 Cor. 2, 6—11.

§ 31.

The congregation must not be so arrogant as to proceed with arbitrary deposition against its minister and others who hold an ecclesiastical office in its midst. But if such men fall away into pernicious error and, having been by due process of investigation found guilty, will not submit to the admonition either of the congregation or of the orthodox ministers whose assistance has been sought, or if they have manifested themselves as obstinately impenitent sinners, or if they have fallen in a manner whereby they have lost their good report of them which are without and have given occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme: the congregation will in Christian order (which may under certain circumstances be that of preliminary suspension) remove them from office as such whom God himself has deposed.

1 Tim. 5, 19.—Matt. 7, 15. Hos. 4, 6. John 10, 5. 1 Tim. 3, 7.

§ 32.

Lastly, the congregation will see to it that neither the congregation nor any individual member thereof may become guilty of syncretism by entering into ecclesiastical union or fraternal fellowship with unbelievers or such as adhere to false doctrine.

2 Cor. 6, 14—18. 2 John 10, 11., cf. Rev. 14, 9—11.

D.**SECTION IV.**

Of the performance of the duty of a congregation to have at heart the temporal welfare of its members.

§ 33.

In the first place, it is the duty of the congregation to provide according to its ability for the maintenance of the Pastor, that he may have food, raiment, and a dwelling (which includes a room for study and uninterrupted intercourse with those who are committed to his spiritual care) for himself and his family; that he may have the means of exercising hospitality; that he may be able to live of the gospel exclusively, that he may not be prevented from giving attendance to reading, nor from practicing fellowship, and that he may not be under necessity of entangling himself with the affairs of this life.—This applies also in due measure to the teachers of the young.

Matt. 10, 9. 10.—1 Tim. 3, 2. Tit. 1, 8.—1 Cor. 9, 14.—1 Tim. 4, 13. 2 Tim. 2, 3. 4. Sir. 38, 26. 27.

§ 34.

It is, likewise, the duty of the congregation to provide food, raiment, and dwelling, and other necessities for the poor, the widows and orphans, the aged and infirm, who are unable to procure these things for themselves, and have no relatives, whose special duty it is to make such provision. The congregation should also concern itself about such as may have been stricken with distress in consequence of special calamities, such as fire, famine, robbery, etc., so that no brother or sister may be tempted to bring disgrace upon the gospel by appealing to the mercy of them that are without, or even connect themselves with secret societies which pretend benevolence as their object.

—For these purposes the congregation should appoint special almoners.

2 Thess. 3, 11. 12. 1 Tim. 5, 16. 1 John 3, 17. Matt. 25, 35. 36. 40. 42. 43. 45. Jam. 1, 27.—2 Cor. 8, 13. 14. Rom. 12, 15. 1 Cor. 12, 26.—1 Thess. 4, 11. 12.—Acts 6, 1—7.

§ 35.

The congregation should not permit any of its members, when sick, to be without the necessary aid, care and attention by day and night, and refreshments.

Matt. 25, 36. 1 Tim. 5, 10.

§ 36.

The congregation should make provision for the decent, honorable and Christian burial of each, even the poorest, of its deceased members.

Matt. 14, 12. Acts 8, 2. Jer. 22, 18. 19. Tob. 1, 20.

IE.

SECTION V.

Of the performance of the duty of a congregation to see that all its things be done decently and in order.

§ 37.

Beside those already incidentally mentioned the following points come under this head:—

The Pastor should keep and have in his custody two books, in one of which, the personal register, he should record all the members of the congregation, those who are, and those who are not, entitled to vote, while in the other, the church record, he should enter the ministerial acts, baptisms, confirmations, proclamations of bans, marriages,

burials, and communions, stating persons, dates, places, and other important circumstances. Both books should be procured by and be the property of the congregation.

§ 38.

All the writings and documents which concern the congregation, or have been directed to or have proceeded from the same, should, together with the minute book, be preserved, in the originals, if possible, or in certified copies, by the stated secretary of the congregation.

§ 39.

The proper management of the money matters of the congregation, the collection and payment of salaries, etc., should be entrusted to the treasurer of the congregation. For this office a competent person of good Christian character should be appointed. The treasurer should submit monthly or quarterly reports in public meeting, and his accounts should from time to time, at regular and at extraordinary times, be carefully examined by a committee appointed for such purpose.

2 Cor. 8, 20. 21.

§ 40.

For the proper care of the poor, the widows and orphans, the aged, infirm, sick, etc., of the congregation, one or more persons should be set apart, who should serve as almoners and see that no one be neglected in the ministration and aid required in each case.

Rom. 12, 8. Acts 6, 1—7. 1 Tim. 3, 8—13.

§ 41.

The congregation should, if its means will permit, endeavor to procure realty appropriate and sufficient for the purposes of the congregation, as, a well equipped church of

sufficient size, a schoolhouse, parsonage, burial ground, etc., and choose men who shall not only represent the congregation as trustees in its dealings with the state in matters of property, but also have the supervision of such property and see that it may not be damaged, but kept in good condition, and that the necessary improvements and additions, etc., be carried out.

§ 42.

The congregation should procure all the requisites for public service, such as a church bible, hymnbook, liturgy, baptismal and communion vessels, official vestments, etc., and appoint a sexton who is to have them in custody, keep the church clean and in proper order, conscientiously provide the elements for baptism and communion, and render similar services to the Pastor during public worship. The pews should not be rented, but special seats should be assigned to those who hold an office in the congregation, and a sacristy should be provided for the Pastor.

§ 43.

The time of opening for all the meetings of the congregation should be statedly fixed and closely observed.

§ 44.

In the meetings of the congregation no important matter should be put to a vote at once, without previous discussion, explanation and deliberation.

§ 45.

As a rule, all matters not determined, enjoined or prohibited, by the word of God, should be decided by a majority of votes, such being the mode of decision recommended by nature. But if, because of the infirmity of many,

danger of division or other damage should accrue from the forcing of such decision by the majority, the majority should, for the sake of love and peace, yield to the minority.

1 Cor. 11, 14. — 2 Cor. 10, 8.

§ 46.

The chairman of the assembly should insist that but one speaker should speak at a time and not before the previous speaker has finished, in order that every one may have an opportunity of expressing his opinion, if necessary, and lest the discussion be turned into a quarrel.

1 Cor. 14, 30. — 1 Cor. 11, 16.

§ 47.

Before taking the votes at an election, the names of those who are entitled to vote should be read aloud, and those whose names are called should signify their presence by responding to the call and cast their vote, absent voters being permitted to vote by ballot only.

§ 48.

All citations to appear in the meeting of the congregation should be in writing and delivered by a responsible person.

§ 49.

All those who hold an office in the congregation should be under a written instruction drawn up by the congregation and precisely determining the extent and limits of their powers. But every member should, if able, be willing to accept an office for which he has been chosen.

1 Pet. 4, 10. 11.

§ 50.

If the congregation adopt a written Constitution, the latter should contain only what is most necessary and has already stood the test of congregational life, and no provision therein embodied concerning things neither enjoined nor prohibited in the word of God should be unalterable, but all such provisions should be liable to alteration or rescission at any time, in due order, and by a considerable majority.

§ 51.

While every member of the congregation must acknowledge his duty to contribute his proportional share to the maintenance of church and school and the support of the needy members, it must be left to the conscience and voluntary charity of every one to determine how much he should give in proportion.

Matt. 10, 10. 1 Cor. 9, 14. 2 Cor. 8, 12. — 2 Cor. 9, 7.

IV.

SECTION VI.

Of the performance of the duty of a congregation to endeavor to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of love also with other parts of the orthodox church.

§ 52.

The congregation should be diligent in jointly offering prayer for all saints.

Eph. 6, 18.

§ 53.

As every true ev. Luth. local congregation has the same public confessions of faith with the entire ev. Luth. church, so it should also give all diligence to be one with the same in point of life and to speak the same thing in the same mind and in the same judgment.

1 Cor. 1, 10.

§ 54.

Each congregation should come to an agreement with adjacent congregations concerning the local limits of their respective territories, and no congregation should receive as members those who reside in the territory of other congregations.

Tit. 1, 5. Gal. 2, 9.—1 Pet. 4, 15. 1 Pet. 5, 2. Heb. 10, 25.

§ 55.

Congregations should demand from those who come to them from other orthodox congregations a testimonial issued by the latter, and grant recognition to such testimonial. On the other hand, congregations should give such testimonials to those who leave them and remove to other congregations.

Acts 18, 27. 3 John 8. 9. 10.

§ 56.

A congregation should not receive as members such as have been rightfully excommunicated by orthodox congregations.

1 Tim. 1, 20. cf. 2 Tim. 4, 14. 15.

§ 57.

Congregations should receive as their brethren such as have been forced away or wrongfully excommunicated, or come as guests from other congregations, and care for them as for their own members.

1 Pet. 4, 9. Heb. 13, 2. Rom. 16, 1. 2. 1 Cor. 16, 10. 11. John 16, 2; 9, 22—39. Matt. 25, 35.

§ 58.

If a congregation would call the minister of another congregation, it should ask the latter's consent and the dismissal of its minister and endeavor to bring about a mu-

tual agreement as to the divine origin of such call; or, if its pastor be called to another congregation, it should examine such call according to the word of God and willingly dismiss the minister, if the call appear as being of God.

1 Tim. 3, 13.

§ 59.

In grave cases a congregation should seek the advice of one or several sister congregations, or, when asked for such advice, be ready to give it according to its ability.

Acts 15.

§ 60.

The congregation should look upon the distress of sister congregations as its own and according to its ability lend them a helping hand.

1 Cor. 16, 12. 2 Cor. 8, 1—14; 9, 1—15.

§ 61.

The congregation should be willing to permit its minister to serve as an affiliated charge, if possible, a neighboring congregation which cannot either by itself establish the ministry in its midst or be made a part of the main congregation.

G.

SECTION VII.

Of the performance of the duty of a congregation to do its share in the cause of upbuilding and promoting the church at large.

§ 62.

The congregation should see that gifted boys and young men be consecrated to the service of the church and that they be enabled to prepare for the same.

1 Cor. 12, 7.

§ 63.

The congregation should make provision that the bread of life be broken to such of its fellows in the faith as suffer spiritual want, and should, therefore, extend aid to those who are willing to perform this work of charity.

Acts 11, 21. 22.

§ 64.

The congregation should be zealous for the dissemination of the written word of God.

1 Thess. 5, 27. Col. 4, 16. 1 Thess. 1, 8.

§ 65.

The congregation should join in the endeavors to have the gospel brought to the poor heathen and Jews who still sit in darkness and in the shadow of death.

Matt. 28, 18—20. 1 Pet. 2, 9. 2 Cor. 11, 8. Acts 13, 1—5.

§ 66.

The congregation should be ready to unite with the evangelical Lutheran congregations of this country, when there is opportunity for such union and the same tends to serve and promote the glory of God and the upbuilding of his kingdom.

Eph. 4, 3—6. 1 Cor. 12, 7. Acts 15. A. G.

Exegetical Theology.

FUNDAMENTALS OF INTERPRETATION.

*Signum est, quod sub sensum aliquem cadit, et quiddam significat.*¹⁾ This is a part of an exquisite definition of the fundamental idea which underlies all interpretation of whatever kind, and with which every theory of interpretation must in some manner deal. In order to serve as a sign, a thing must enter between the object signified or indicated and the sense or the mind of the subject which by such sign becomes cognizant of such object. A thing which itself cannot be perceived is not and cannot be a sign. But being an object of perception does not suffice to constitute a thing a sign; there must be something beyond the sign, some object, the existence and nature of which is by such sign indicated to the individual who perceives the sign. The sign in its very nature of a sign presupposes its perceptibility to the individual or individuals to whom it is to serve as a sign, and a certain relation to the object which it is to signify or of which it is to convey a knowledge to those by whom the sign is perceived. Thus the symptoms of a disease are phenomena appearing in the patient; they are not, however, the malady itself, but functional abnormalities indicative of the disease whereby the symptoms are caused, and the diagnosis of the case will comprise *two* processes, that of perceiving or observing the symptoms, and that of determining the cause or causes of the phenomena perceived. A failure to notice the diacritical symptom or symptoms of a case, and a failure to find the true cause of the symptoms noticed, will both result in an erroneous

1) Cicero, de inventione rhet., 48. "That is a sign, which falls under some sense, and indicates something."

diagnosis. A collision of vessels at sea may be due to the fact that one of the ships has given a false signal or none at all; but it may result from one or the other of two causes where all the signals have been given and correctly given: the other ship may have either failed to notice the signal given, or it may have misunderstood the signal noticed, assigning to it a meaning different from that which it was intended to express.

We say, "intended to express." For in this a nautical signal differs from a symptom of disease, that the functional abnormality which constitutes a symptom is due to natural causes independent of the direct influence of human volition, while into the nature of the signal the will of a rational being has entered, coupling with the phenomena of the sign a certain intended meaning or determined purpose which has thus been made the import of the sign. When a child, by tugging at the signal rope, makes the whistle of a steamship blow, that is not properly a nautical signal, though it may be a sign to the captain that some one is at the rope. But when the master of the ship pulls the same rope and sounds the same whistle as another ship is approaching, there is a certain, definite meaning connected with the blast or blasts, a purpose of conveying to the master of the other ship certain information as to the side he intends to take in passing the other vessel and the side he would have the other vessel take in passing him. But the signal again implies the essentials of a sign as given in Cicero's definition; the party who gives the signal supposes that the party to whom the signal is given will perceive what we would term the *materiale* of the sign, which is in this case the blast of a steam whistle, and that he will associate therewith the *formale*, the intended meaning and purpose manifested or signified by such blast.

From these considerations it will appear that the fitness of a sign to serve as a sign lies in these two properties, viz., its perceptibility, and its significance. A thing which

is easily and distinctly perceptible is, other things being equal, a more serviceable sign than a thing which would easily escape our notice. Signal lights by day would be of little if any use, and by night they are of increased usefulness by being elevated in light-houses or on the masts of light-ships and thus rendered more readily visible at a distance. The stars are eminently qualified to "be for signs"¹⁾ because of their positions in the heavens and their brilliancy. A buoy may be rendered more serviceable by providing it with a bell or a whistling apparatus, the signal being thus both visible and audible. A tower clock is improved by translucent dials which can be illuminated by night, and a clock which strikes the hours besides indicating them by the hands is the more useful by being the more variously perceptible.

But high and various perceptibility is not the only excellence of sign. A highly perceptible sign may give very limited or unsatisfactory service. Electric lights have not largely taken the place of lamp-lights as marine signals. A fire on a mountain top may under certain circumstances and for certain purposes be a very efficient sign; but the circumstances and purposes calling for such a sign are of rare occurrence, and it would under ordinary circumstances be no sign at all, but an amusement to those who had kindled it and a puzzle or an amusement to those who beheld it in the valley far below, wondering what it meant or surmising that probably it did not mean anything. A phenomenon must be significant to be a sign, and distinctly and with a degree of certainty significant to be a serviceable sign. A headache may indicate a cold in the head, or it may be a symptom of heart disease, or of typhus, or of indigestion. But a slight swelling around the ankles may be a diacritical symptom in a case of diseased kidneys, and dilated pupils which will not respond to the light, a sure indication of

1) Gen. 1, 14.

brain trouble complicating a case of dysentery, though these signs are less easily perceptible than many others of less grave significance.

It is the same with intentional signs. A good military signal by drum or trumpet must be definite, conveying a certain, established meaning, being tantamount to an order or command which must be conformed with by those for whom the signal is intended. Military and naval signals, the peculiar significance of which is not sufficiently clear, are not only of doubtful usefulness, but may be positively dangerous and should be abolished.

On the other hand, the most highly significant signs are as such only signs. In order that they should be put to their proper use, they must not only be perceived as phenomena, but the mind which perceives them must also associate with them that which lies beyond the phenomena and is by them indicated. In other words, signs of whatever kind, if they should serve and be utilized as signs, must be INTERPRETED. A peculiar sunset may be observed by a lover of nature, or by a painter, as an object of beauty, and be enjoyed and represented on canvas for the enjoyment of others. But he who looks beyond the phenomenon, to whom this sunset is indicative of approaching rain, does more than behold the colors in the western sky; he interprets what he sees by associating in his mind what according to his experience or the information he has obtained is likely to follow a sunset of this description: a rainy day or night. The physician who makes a diagnosis will not only perceive the accelerated pulse and respiration and increased temperature, but associates with these phenomena the notion of inflammation or septicaemia which according to his professional judgment was liable to set in under the prevailing circumstances of the case. The passengers spending the evening on deck may see the beacon lights appearing in the distance, knowing little of their peculiar significance, but the pilot at the wheel interprets the phenomena and in his

mind associates with them the meaning of those lights, the warnings they imply, the course they prescribe, and the points at which the course must be changed as other lights appear. Thus the physician and the pilot are interpreters of signs, not chiefly inasmuch as they perceive the phenomena. It is true, the pilot generally sees more lights at the same time than the passengers, since he knows where to look for them, and the physician notices more symptoms in his patient than the layman in medicine; but what chiefly makes them interpreters of the signs peculiar to their respective callings is the aptitude to associate in their minds what is suggested by the signs they are accustomed and trained to observe and the exercise of such habitude of mental association. In a similar manner the work of detectives consists very largely in the interpretation of signs, in associating with that which they hear and see that which lies beyond the immediate perception of their senses, the acts and motives of the criminal and his accomplices. And, furthermore, it is by the interpretation of signs that we, all of us, young and old, whatever our occupations or ways of life may be, obtain knowledge of many things not exhibited directly to our senses. Through present phenomena our mind by this process penetrates walls and closed doors and shutters, investigates the past and peers into the future, reads the thoughts and emotions of present and of absent fellowmen, yea what is and has before all time been in the very heart of God.

And now, by far the most extensively used among all the various kinds of signs are the words of human speech. Words are signs; they fall under a sense and signify something. The very word *sign*, Latin *signum*, is of the same root with the Sanskrit *sukaj*, to indicate, announce, Norw. *sige*, Low German *seggen*, High German *sagen*, Engl. *say*. When we *say* something, we make a sign or a number of signs signifying that which we have to say. The sounds alone are not words, and our notions or conceptions alone

are not words. A number of sounds arbitrarily joined together, as, "*rariro tootligo*," are, for all we know, words of no language living or dead. "*Baban beshmaia, hal ellan lechma semgana kulle yuma*," pronounced by an Englishman, knowing no language but his own, are *sine mente soni*, by which he *says* nothing to another Englishman of the same description who may hear the sounds; but when pronounced by a modern Chaldean, they are *words*, by which he *says*, "Our Father in heaven, give us every day our daily bread." A young child, though in possession of normal organs of speech, is an "infant," *infans*, a being which "does not speak," and that for two reasons: it has nothing or little to say, its mind being destitute of conscious ideas or notions, and it is ignorant of the proper means whereby it might utter what little is in its mind and untrained in the use of the organs whereby the sounds of words are produced. Men and women with a narrow mental horizon have a comparatively scanty vocabulary at their command; it is said that there are Englishmen who use but little more than three hundred of the hundred thousand current words of the English language. "Men of moderate passions employ few epithets, with verbs and substantives of mild significations; excitable men use numerous intensives, and words of strong and stirring meanings. Loose thinkers content themselves with a single expression for a large class of related ideas; logical men scrupulously select the precise word which corresponds to the thought they utter."¹) The rich vocabulary of classical Greek afforded no word for the Christian virtue of humility, simply because the Greek mind had never conceived that notion for which the Holy Spirit coined the word *ταπεινοφροσύνη*.²)

All these observations and many others we might make in this connection square and tally with our theory of inter-

1) Marsh, *Lectures on the Engl. Language*, p. 183.

2) Acts 20, 19. Eph. 4, 2. Phil. 2, 3. Col. 2, 18, 23; 3, 12. 1 Pet. 5, 5.

pretation based on the nature of signs. Being signs, words must "fall under some sense," either the sense of hearing as spoken words, or the sense of sight as written words, or the sense of touch as embossed words intended for the blind. But what is heard or seen or felt is not the word in its entire concept, but only the *materiale* thereof, the *formale* being its peculiar signification or sense, and both together constitute the word. To understand or interpret the words, the hearer or reader or interpreter must in the first place perceive that element of the word which falls under the sense to which it is directed, the sounds, or the characters representing the sounds, and this perception must be distinct as to the forms and positions of the words, their etymological structure and syntactical arrangement. To the interpreter of words nothing must be insignificant, no article or pronoun, preposition or conjunction, case or number or mood or tense. He must notice that in Matt. 15, 28 the position of the words is not ἡ πίστις σου μεγάλη, but μεγάλη σου ἡ πίστις, which does not say "thy faith is great," but more emphatically, "great is the faith that is in thee." It is very largely this aptitude and habitude of close and minute observation which secures the best results in exegetical work, and this is one reason why careful and thorough grammatical training is one of the requisites of the proper equipment for exegetical theology. A failure to see certain features of a text is an exegetical shortcoming, and a habit to overlook so-called *minutiae* is a serious exegetical defect, resulting in defective interpretation, just as insufficient observation of pathological phenomena will result in a defective diagnosis. Of course, the power of close observation is in a measure a natural talent, and in this respect exegetes as physicians are not made but born. But even mediocre and inferior talents are capable of training, and superior talents are the less efficient for lack of training, and the exegete does not live who is beyond improvement in this point. Especially should a theologian beware

of passing superficially over very familiar texts. However frequently a passage may have been before our eyes, however firmly it may be fixed in our memory, and however carefully we may have at some time scrutinized its every word, we must not for such reasons suppose renewed scrutiny of the words and forms and positions of words superfluous or unprofitable, but "search the Scriptures" again and again and with ever increased attention also with regard to the *material* of these *signs* which were given by inspiration of God for the purpose that by them we should be "made wise unto salvation" and that "in them we should have everlasting life."

The second process which is essential to the interpretation of words as of any other kind of signs consists in associating with the sounds or their representatives that which they are intended to signify. By the signification or sense of a word we do not mean the natural relation of cause and effect, according to which a spoken word may be a sign of the speaker's presence, and a written word, a sign or proof of the mere fact that the writer was alive at a certain time and place, as an inscription engraved on a rock in a polar wilderness may be to an explorer a sign of another human being having been in such place before him. This fact would appear from such inscription irrespective of the particular language used and even though the beholder were totally ignorant of such language. The fact that the inscription was in characters of an alphabet may further indicate that the earlier visitor had not been a savage, but a civilized man, and to draw this conclusion would be a correct interpretation of signs, but it would not be interpretation of *words* as such. Words, whether true or false, are utterances of what is in the speaker's mind as his words are uttered, and to associate this, and all this, and nothing but this, with those words is the interpretation, and the correct interpretation, of the words. To read is properly not only to reproduce the sounds or to gather up the characters

representing them, but it is to associate with those sounds or characters precisely that which was in the speaker's or writer's mind and for the utterance whereof he used those sounds or characters. By the purpose of suggesting to others his thoughts the speaker or writer was prompted in the choice, composition, inflection, and arrangement of his words according to certain linguistic norms the knowledge and application of which on the part of the hearer or reader he presupposed as he gave utterance to his thoughts. When a stranger at the point of accosting a stranger premises the question, "Do you speak English?" the real import of the question is: "Are you in a measure conversant with the established meaning of the signs by which I intend to communicate with you and by which I can not confer with you unless I can proceed on this fundamental supposition?" If the answer were a shake of the head and the words, "Ich bin deutsch," the querist would either abandon the purpose of conversing with the stranger, or, if able to use the stranger's language, he would at once lay aside his English and take up the set and system of signs which will answer the present purpose, signs with which the stranger is accustomed to associate in his own mind the notions or thoughts which the speaker is desirous of communicating on this supposition. Or if the answer had been, "A little," the Englishman might proceed with a trial, and he might fail to make himself understood in some of his utterances for either or both of two reasons, either because he spoke too fast, the stranger being unable to make out or distinguish the signs exhibited in rapid succession or indistinct enunciation—or because among the words employed there were such as lacked suggestiveness to the hearer and failed to induce in his mind the associations established among those who are familiar with the language. But even in reading a language with which we are in a measure acquainted, and in the perusal of works composed in our mother tongue, we will sometimes meet with words whose meaning we do

not grasp. We see the sign, but it leaves a blank in our mind, to fill which we turn to the lexicon which has the signs alphabetically arranged and by its definitions or synonyms supplies our want, just as the keeper of a signal station would turn to the official *Register* for the explanation of a flag signal announcing the arrival or destination of a foreign ship which makes its first appearance off Sandy Hook. A reader untrained in philosophic lore may pore over pages of abstruse philosophy until he will cast aside the book in bewilderment or disgust because of his inability to make out what the author would say. Schopenhauer tells us at the very threshold of his extensive work, "*the World as Will and Idea*," that "it is absolutely impossible to understand the present work properly" without an acquaintance of a certain treatise which the author had written five years earlier; and even then, he says, the book should be read *twice*, and "the first perusal demands patience, founded on the confidence that on a second perusal, much, or all, will appear in an entirely different light."¹) It is impossible to fully understand the dogmaticians of the seventeenth century without a measure of philosophical preparation. And what would most of our educated men and women make out of such modern scientific English as we have quoted in a former issue saying:—

"Begoneaceae, by their authero-connectival fabric indicate a close relationship with anonaceo-hydrocharideonymphaeoid forms, an affinity confirmed by the serpentarioid flexuoso-nodulous stem, the lirioidendroid stipules, and cisoid and victorioid foliage of a certain Begonia, and if considered hypogynous, would in their triquetrous capsule, alate seed, apetalism, and tufted stamination, represent the floral fabric of Nepenthes, itself of aristolochioid affinity, while by its pitched leaves, directly belonging to Sarracenias

1) Arth. Schopenhauer, *the World as Will and Idea*, transl. by Haldane and Kemp, Trübner, II ed. pp. VIII—X.

and Dionaeas.”¹⁾ Neither Webster’s nor Worcester’s nor any other English lexicon, nor all the dictionaries together, will render this passage clear to a reader who has not in his mind certain botanical concepts which will associate themselves with the words and phrases.

What has been said in a general way will again apply to the interpretation of Scripture. A knowledge of the Hebrew characters and the Greek alphabet will not make a man an exegete any more than the ability to distinguish a red light from a blue light and to tell what is right and left will make him a pilot. Even a knowledge of and familiarity with the grammatical structure of the sacred languages cannot suffice, however needful such proficiency has been shown to be. If the words of Scripture are *signs*, the mind of the interpreter must be able to look beyond that which “falls under the senses” to that which is thereby “indicated.” Of the prophets St. Peter says that they “inquired and searched” of the salvation, “searching what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did *signify* when it testified” etc.²⁾ Thus were they not only prophets, but also interpreters of the prophecies; and thus are we interpreters of Scripture as we search what the Spirit of God does *signify* when he testifies in holy Scripture. With what he sees with his eyes or hears with his ears the interpreter must associate in his mind the notions, concepts, ideas, thoughts indicated by what he sees or hears, and he must associate those notions and thoughts precisely in the relations also indicated by the forms and arrangement of the visible or audible words of the text to be interpreted.

The suggestiveness of the words has its foundation in their etymology and, chiefly, in the *usus* and *modus loquendi* established by the speech of the people whose the language is and by the literature of that language, including the work

1) THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY, I, p. 150.

2) 1 Pet. 1, 10. 11.

itself which is to be interpreted. It is in the very nature of languages to represent thought, the only thinking creature on earth being also the only speaking creature; and when God would manifest his thoughts to that creature, whom he had endowed with both thought and speech, he spoke to man, not in a Volapük, an artificial system of signs, but in the tongues of nations, languages spoken and written as established vehicles of thought by and among those whose languages they were. Speaking in those languages, God presupposed in those to whom he spoke, or enjoined upon them, an acquaintance also with the peculiar suggestiveness of the words and phrases of such languages, and took into account the laws of association which he has laid down in the human mind. Where the established *usus loquendi* was not adequate to the present purpose, God furthermore turned to his account the elasticity and pliability of language, whereby languages admit of increase of vocabulary and of variations and modifications in the use of words, again along the lines and according to the laws of association which underlie and govern the use of words as of every other kind of signs.

From all this it should be clear that the interpretation of Scripture is in no way an arbitrary performance. In the first place, it is of the very nature of Scripture, as a revelation in signs, that it should be interpreted; in giving us Scripture God has *ipso facto* enjoined upon us its interpretation. Again, there can be no license or looseness permissible in the manner of performing this task and duty. The words of the text are fixed, and no man is at liberty to change a tittle of these signs which God himself has set and arranged. To suppose that the thoughts of Scripture may be inspired, but not the words, is incompatible with the very concept of *scripture*, a written word of God. Our assurance of the divine authority, the unquestionable reliability of the truths laid down in the Bible rests first of all on the divine authority and unquestionable reliability of the *words* from which alone those truths can be ascertained.

Nor is the meaning of those words a variable quantity. The signification of these signs was determined when the signs were given by inspiration of God, and while these signs are what they are, that signification is the same to-day and will be the same forever. Of two or more different interpretations all may be wrong, but one only can be right, and what the text is thereby understood to say is true, being what God would have us know and hold, because "thus saith the Lord." Note the great advantage of a written word. A spoken word may be remembered, but it can "fall under the sense" but once, as sound is a very transient thing. To remember it exactly afterwards, the hearer must rely on his memory. The written word is different. It is a stationary sign. It can be viewed to-day, to-morrow, in prosperity, in adversity, in moments of assurance, in moments of doubt—ever the same. Thus we may more fully understand St. Peter when, having referred to that grand revelation so vividly impressed upon his memory, when Jesus Christ received from the Father honor and glory and the testimony of the beloved Son of God, he continues: "We have also a *more sure* word of prophecy," referring to the word of *Scripture*, which shineth as a light in a dark place, until the day dawn and the daystar rise in our hearts.¹⁾

A. G.

1) 2 Pet. 1, 16—19.

Historical Theology.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN THE CHARTERS AND EARLIER CONSTITUTIONS.

The Constitution of the United States says in Article VI: — "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States."

And in the First Amendment it is made a provision of our national fundamental law that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Our present purpose is not to trace the evolution of the principles embodied in these passages of our federal constitution, but to exhibit the legislative enactments concerning religion and the liberty of conscience in the colonial Charters and the Constitutions prior to the adoption of our federal Constitution. The material for a comparative study of these instruments with reference to the various points of political legislation was collected by Sydney George Fisher in his work on the "Evolution of the Constitution of the United States." It should be understood that the extracts hereinafter given do not cover the acts of colonial assemblies in the exercise of their legislative authority, enactments of which we may submit a selection of specimens in a future article.

The earliest charter to be here considered was that of RHODE ISLAND. It was obtained by the Rev. John Clarke, a Baptist minister, who went to England as an agent with a petition asking that a patent might be granted which should enable the petitioners "to hold forth a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil state may stand, and best be maintained, with a full liberty of religious concern-

ments." The charter, which was granted in 1663, twenty years after the patent whereby they were allowed to govern themselves by any form of government which the majority should deem appropriate, contained the following passage on religious concerns:—

"That our royall will and pleasure is, that noe person within the sayd colonye, at any tyme hereafter, shall bee any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinione in matters of religion, and doe not actually disturb the civill peace of our sayd colony; but that all and everye person and persons may, from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes hereafter, freelye and fullye have and enjoye his and their owne judgments and consciences, in matters of religious concernments, throughout the tract of lande hereafter mentioned; they behaving themselves peaceable and quietlie, and not using this libertie to lycentiousnesse and profanenesse, nor to the civill injurie or outward disturbance of others; any lawe, statute, or clause, therein containd, or to be containd, usage or custome of this realme, to the contrary hereof, in any wise, notwithstanding."

The "Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors of EAST JERSEY," of 1665, which instrument was prepared by the proprietors of the province, said:—

"That no person qualified as aforesaid within the said province at any time shall be anyways molested, punished, disquieted or called in question for any difference in opinion or practice in matters of religious concernments, who do not actually disturb the civil peace of the said province, but that all and every such person and persons may from time to time and at all times truly and fully have and enjoy his and their judgments and consciences in matters of religion throughout all the said province; they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly and not using this liberty to licentiousness, nor to the civil injury or outward disturbance of others; any law, statute, or clause contained or to be

contained, usage or custom of this realm of England to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding."

About four years after the Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors of East Jersey, in 1669, JOHN LOCKE, the philosopher, prepared his famous "Constitution" for the government of the CAROLINAS, in which he said:—

"No person whatsoever shall disturb, molest, or persecute another for his speculative opinions in religion, or his way of worship."

In 1677, the "Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors of WEST JERSEY" appeared and contained this:—

"That no men, nor number of men upon earth, hath power or authority to rule over men's conscience in religious matters; therefore it is consented, agreed and ordained, that no person or persons whatsoever within the said province, at any time or times hereafter, shall be any ways upon any pretence whatsoever, called in question, or in the least punished or hurt, either in person, estate, or privilege, for the sake of his opinion, judgment, faith or worship toward God in matters of religion. But that all and every such person and persons may from time to time, and at all times, freely and fully have and enjoy his and their judgments and the exercise of their consciences in matters of religious worship throughout all the said province."

The royal Commission granted in 1680 for the government of NEW HAMPSHIRE during the king's pleasure, said:—

"We do hereby require and command that liberty of conscience shall be allowed unto all protestants; that such especially as shall be conformable to y^e rites of y^e Church of Eng^d shall be particularly countenanced and encouraged."

The MASSACHUSETTS charter of 1691 was granted by Mary and William after the charter of 1629 had been annulled. The new charter declared:—

"We do by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, grant, establish and ordain that forever hereafter

there shall be the liberty of conscience allowed in the worship of God to all Christians (except papists) inhabiting, or which shall inhabit, or be residing within our said province or territory."

In 1696, Governor Markham and the people of PENNSYLVANIA, made a frame of a constitution, which was to remain in force unless Penn objected. This was during Penn's absence. But when he returned to the province, he again went into law-making with the people, and, after many meetings and consultations, and much deliberation, the Charter of Privileges, usually known as the Constitution of 1701, was completed. It was particularly explicit on our point, on which it said:—

"That no Person or Persons, inhabiting in this Province or Territories, who shall confess and acknowledge *One* almighty God, the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the World; and profess him or themselves obliged to live quietly under the Civil Government, shall be in any Case molested, in his or their Person or Estate, because of his or their conscientious Persuasion or Practice, nor be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious Worship, Place or Ministry, contrary to his or their Mind, or to do or suffer any other Act or Thing, contrary to their religious Persuasion.

"AND that all Persons who also profess to believe in *Jesus Christ*, the Saviour of the World, shall be capable (notwithstanding their other Persuasions or Practices in Point of Conscience and Religion) to serve this Government in any Capacity, both legislatively and executively, he or they solemnly promising, when lawfully required, Allegiance to the King as Sovereign, and Fidelity to the Proprietary and Governor, and taking the Attests as now established by the Law made at *New-Castle*, in the Year *One Thousand and Seven Hundred*, entitled *An Act directing the Attests of several Officers and Ministers*, as now amended and confirmed this present Assembly."

The last charter, that of GEORGIA, which was granted in 1732 to the "Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America," contained this paragraph:—

"And for the greater ease and encouragement of our loving subjects and such others as shall come to inhabit in our said colony, we do by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, grant, establish and ordain, that forever hereafter there shall be a liberty of conscience allowed in the worship of God to all persons inhabiting, or which shall inhabit or be resident within our said province, and that all such persons, except papists, shall have a free exercise of religion, so they be contented with the quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same, not giving offence or scandal to the government."

In June, 1776, the VIRGINIA CONSTITUTION, made by a convention of forty-five members of the house of burgesses, was finished, and to it was prefixed a Bill of Rights, adopted June 12, which said:—

"That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love, and charity towards each other."

The first of the constitutions of 1776 that was not put in force by the convention which framed it, but was submitted to the people for approval, was the NEW JERSEY Constitution, begun May 26, and finished July 3. It contained this:—

"That no person shall ever, within this Colony, be deprived of the inestimable privilege of worshipping Almighty God in a manner agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience; nor, under any pretence whatever, be compelled to attend any place of worship, contrary to his own faith and judgement; nor shall any person within this Colony

ever be obliged to pay tithes, taxes, or any other rates for the purpose of building or repairing any other church or churches, place or places of worship, or for the maintenance of any minister or ministry, contrary to what he believes to be right or has deliberately or voluntarily engaged himself to perform.

“That there shall be no establishment of any one religious sect in this Province in preference to another; and that no Protestant inhabitant of this Colony shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil right, merely on account of his religious principles; but that all persons, professing a belief in the faith of any Protestant sect, who shall demean themselves peaceably under the government, as hereby established, shall be capable of being elected into any office of profit or trust, or being a member of either branch of the Legislature, and shall fully and freely enjoy every privilege and immunity enjoyed by others their fellow-subjects.”

The Constitution of DELAWARE, which was put in force September 21, 1776, said:—

“There shall be no establishment of any one religious sect in this State in preference to another; and no clergyman or preacher of the gospel, of any denomination, shall be capable of holding any civil office in this State, or of being a member of either of the branches of the legislature, while they continue in the exercise of the pastoral function.”

A week after the Delaware constitution, the Constitution of PENNSYLVANIA was finished, Sept. 28, 1776. It said:—

“That all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences and understanding: And that no man ought or of right can be compelled to attend any religious worship, or erect or support any place of worship, or maintain any ministry, contrary to, or against, his own free will and consent: Nor can any man, who acknowledges the being of a God, be justly deprived or abridged of any civil right as a citizen, on account of his religious sentiments or peculiar mode of religious worship: And that no authority

can or ought to be vested in, or assumed by any power whatever, that shall in any case interfere with, or in any manner control, the right of conscience in the free exercise of religious worship."

The Constitution of MARYLAND, finished Nov. 11, 1776, opened with a Bill of Rights more complete than any that had appeared before, so full that nothing essentially new has ever since been added in similar instruments. On our subject it said:—

"That, as it is the duty of every man to worship God in such manner, as he thinks most acceptable to him, all persons professing the Christian religion are equally entitled to protection in their religious liberty: wherefore no person ought by any law to be molested in his person or estate on account of his religious persuasion or profession, or for his religious practice: unless, under colour of religion, any man shall disturb the good order, peace, or safety of the State, or shall infringe the laws of morality, or injure others, in their natural, civil, or religious rights: nor ought any person to be compelled to frequent or maintain, or contribute, unless on contract, to maintain any particular place of worship, or any particular ministry: yet the Legislature may, in their discretion, lay a general and equal tax for the support of the Christian religion; leaving to each individual the power of appointing the payment over the money, collected from him, to the support of any particular place of worship or minister, or for the benefit of the poor of his own denomination, or the poor in general of any particular county: but the churches, chapels, glebes, and all other property now belonging to the church of England, ought to remain to the church of England forever. And all acts of Assembly, lately passed, for collecting monies for building or repairing particular churches or chapels of ease, shall continue in force and be executed, unless the Legislature shall, by act, supersede or repeal the same: but no county court shall assess any quantity of tobacco, or sum of

money, hereafter, on the application of any vestry-men or church-wardens; and every encumbent of the church of England, who hath remained in his parish, and performed his duty, shall be entitled to receive the provision and support established by the act entitled 'An act for the support of the clergy of the church of England, in this Province,' till the November court of this present year to be held for the county in which his parish shall lie, or partly lie, or for such time as he hath remained in his parish, and performed his duty."

The NORTH CAROLINA Constitution, which appeared December 18, 1776, said on the same subject:—

"That all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own conscience. . . .

"That no person, who shall deny the being of God or the truth of the Protestant religion, or the divine authority either of the Old or New Testaments, or who shall hold religious principles incompatible with the freedom and safety of the State, shall be capable of holding any office or place of trust or profit in the civil department within this State. . . .

"That there shall be no establishment of any one religious church or denomination in this State, in preference to any other; neither shall any person, on any pretence whatsoever, be compelled to attend any place of worship contrary to his own faith or judgement, nor be obliged to pay for the purchase of any glebe, or the building of any house of worship, or for the maintenance of any minister or ministry, contrary to what he believes right, or has voluntarily or personally engaged to perform; but all persons shall be at liberty to exercise their own mode of worship: — *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to exempt preachers of treasonable or seditious discourses from legal trial and punishment."

The GEORGIA Constitution, adopted February 5, 1777, had this:—

“All persons whatever shall have the free exercise of their religion, provided it be not repugnant to the peace and safety of the State, and shall not, unless by consent, support any teacher or teachers except those of their own profession.”

The Constitution of NEW YORK, having been in making since July 10, 1776, was adopted April 20, 1777. It contained this section:—

“And whereas we are required, by the benevolent principles of rational liberty, not only to expel civil tyranny, but also to guard against that spiritual oppression and intolerance wherewith the bigotry and ambition of weak and wicked priests and princes have scourged mankind, this convention doth further, in the name and by the authority of the good people of this State, ordain, determine, and declare, that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever hereafter be allowed, within this State, to all mankind: *Provided*, That the liberty of conscience, hereby granted, shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of this State.”

On July 8, 1777, the VERMONT Constitution was adopted, which says:—

“That all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship *Almighty God*, according to the dictates of their own consciences and understanding, regulated by the word of *God*; and that no man ought, or of right can be compelled to attend any religious worship, or erect or support any place of worship, or maintain any minister, contrary to the dictates of his own conscience; nor can any man who professes the Protestant religion be justly deprived or abridged of any civil right, as a citizen, on account of his religious sentiment, or peculiar mode of religious worship, and that no authority can, or ought to be vested in, or assumed by, any power whatsoever, that shall,

in any case, interfere with, or in any manner controul, the rights of conscience, in the free exercise of religious worship: nevertheless, every sect or denomination of people ought to observe the Sabbath, or the Lord's day, and keep up, and support, some sort of religious worship, which to them shall seem most agreeable to the revealed will of God."

IN MASSACHUSETTS, a draft of a Constitution was ordered to be submitted to the people by the convention on February 8, 1778, and the people voted it down. This rejected constitution had the following passages to the point under consideration:—

"No person, unless of the Protestant religion, shall be governor, lieutenant-governor, a member of the senate or of the house of representatives, or hold any judiciary employment within this State. . . .

"The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship shall forever be allowed to every denomination of Protestants within this State."

The new Constitution for SOUTH CAROLINA, which was finished March 19, and went into effect in November, 1778, said:—

"That all persons and religious societies who acknowledge that there is one God, and a future state of rewards and punishments, and that God is publicly to be worshipped, shall be freely tolerated. The Christian Protestant religion shall be deemed, and is hereby constituted and declared to be, the established religion of this State. That all denominations of Christian Protestants in this State, demeaning themselves peaceably and faithfully, shall enjoy equally religious and civil privileges.

"No person shall be eligible to a seat in the said senate unless he be of the Protestant religion. No person shall be eligible to sit in the house of representatives unless he be of the Protestant religion."

IN NEW HAMPSHIRE, a Constitution finished June 10, 1778, was laid before the people and rejected. It said:—

“The future legislature of this State, shall make no laws to infringe the rights of conscience or any other of the natural, unalienable rights of men, or contrary to the laws of God or against the Protestant religion. . . .

“All the male inhabitants of the State of lawful age, paying taxes and professing the Protestant religion, shall be deemed legal voters in choosing councillors and representatives.”

The Constitution which the people of MASSACHUSETTS finally accepted in 1780, had the following utterances on the matter of religion:—

“It is the right as well as the duty of all men in society, publicly and at stated seasons, to worship the Supreme Being, the great Creator and Preserver of the universe. And no subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained, in his person, liberty, or estate, for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience, or for his religious profession or sentiments, provided he doth not disturb the public peace or obstruct others in their religious worship. . . .

“Therefore, to promote their happiness and to secure the good order and preservation of their government, the people of this commonwealth have a right to invest their legislature with power to authorize and require, and the legislature shall, from time to time, authorize and require the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies—politic or religious societies to make suitable provision, at their own expense, for the institution of the public worship of God and for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality in all cases where such provisions shall not be made voluntarily. . . .

“And the people of this commonwealth have also a right, and do, invest their legislature with authority to enjoin upon all the subjects an attendance upon the instructions of the public teachers aforesaid, at stated times and

seasons, if there be any on whose instructions they can conscientiously and conveniently attend."

In 1784, NEW HAMPSHIRE succeeded in obtaining a Constitution which was acceptable to the people. It said:—

"Every individual has a natural and unalienable right to worship *God* according to the dictates of his own conscience and reason; and no person shall be hurt, molested, or restrained in his person, liberty, or estate for worshipping *God*, in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience, or for his religious profession, sentiments, or persuasion; provided he doth not disturb the public peace, or disturb others, in their religious worship.

"As morality and piety, rightly grounded on evangelical principles, will give the best and greatest security to government, and will lay in the hearts of men the strongest obligations to due subjection; and as the knowledge of these is most likely to be propagated through a society by the institution of the public worship of the *Deity*, and of public instruction in morality and religion; therefore, to promote those important purposes, the people of this state have a right to impower, and do hereby fully impower the legislature to authorize from time to time, the several towns, parishes, bodies—corporate, or religious societies within this state, to make adequate provisions at their own expence, for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality. . . .

"That no person shall be capable of being elected a senator who is not of the Protestant religion."

The last Constitution was the new one for VERMONT, of 1786, which was little more or less than a copy of the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776, and also repeated what was there said on religious liberty.

When in May 1787 a general convention of representatives of the States was assembled, general propositions to show how the Articles of Confederation might be enlarged

into a federal constitution, were presented by Randolph, of Virginia. After him, Pinckney, of South Carolina, submitted his plan, known as PINCKNEY'S PLAN, which was more complete, definite, and detailed than the former, and differed little from the Constitution as it was finally adopted. It said: —

“The legislature of the United States shall pass no law on the subject of religion.”

A perusal and comparison of these extracts from the Charters and Constitutions will have served to convince the reader that there was by no means an agreement among the several States concerning the relation of church and state. The equality of all citizens before the law irrespective of their religious creeds or forms of worship was far from being generally recognized or conceded. In fact, there is no regular process of evolution toward the general recognition of religious liberty discernible in the various fundamental laws or drafts thereof submitted prior to the federal Constitution. It is significant that this document did not contain in its body what was afterwards added in the first Amendment. And even that Amendment and Art. VI did not prohibit an establishment of religion and religious tests in the several states, but Art. VI referred only to offices and public trusts “under the *United States*,” and the First Amendment put a restriction only on the legislative power of *Congress*, leaving the several States and their legislatures free to deal with matters of religion and conscience as they might choose. In some quarters the limitation of the power of Congress was even looked upon as a guaranty against the interference of the federal government with the discriminations for or against certain churches in the States by State legislation. The present letter and spirit of constitutional law throughout the United States as to liberty of conscience and religion must be accounted for by causes which had hardly begun to work when the federal Constitution became the law of the nation. A. G.

Practical Theology.

PUBLIC WORSHIP IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

(Concluded.)

B.

That the sacrifices prescribed by the Levitical law for the Jewish church of the Old Testament were to be discontinued after the fulness of the time was come, lay in the nature of those sacrifices, which were chiefly types and shadows of the promised Messiah and the church of the New Covenant. But as the abrogation of the Levitical cult and the disestablishment of the Aaronic priesthood was not to do away with public worship altogether nor to abolish the spiritual priesthood of the children of God, so it was not God's will that the royal priesthood of the New Testament should be without its sacrifices. Thus we read: "By him, therefore, let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of our lips, giving thanks to his name. But to do good and to communicate forget not: for with such sacrifices God is well pleased."¹⁾ And St. Peter writes: "Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ."²⁾

Two classes of sacrifices are mentioned in Heb. 13 as above quoted: the sacrifices of the *lips* and the sacrifices of the *hands*.

The sacrifices of the lips are those of prayer, of praise and thanksgiving, and of confession.

Of the sacrifice of *prayer* the psalmist says: "Let my prayer be set forth before thee as incense, and the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice;"³⁾ and from the

1) Heb. 13, 15, 16.

2) 1 Pet. 2, 5.

3) Ps. 141, 2.

earliest days of New Testament Christianity we find the setting forth of such incense, the sacrifice of prayer among the devotional exercises of the congregation.¹⁾ St. Paul speaks at length of prayer in public worship especially,²⁾ and in his more general admonitions directed to Christian congregations exhorting them to prayer,³⁾ public prayer is certainly not excluded. In the second century we find prayer as a regular feature of public worship. Thus Justin writes: "Thereupon [after the Scripture lesson and the sermon] we rise, all of us together, and send up prayers."⁴⁾ The same author informs us that the newly baptized were immediately after their baptism led to "where all are assembled and about to offer common prayer for themselves and the baptized one, and all others everywhere."⁵⁾ From both these passages it appears that the Christians in those days prayed in their public meetings, and prayed in common. From the extract quoted in the second place and the subsequent context we learn that the contents of these public prayers were twofold. In the first place the brethren prayed "*for themselves*," especially, as the context shows, that the word which had been read and expounded to them might be blessed unto a holy life and everlasting salvation. Beyond this, the prayers of the congregation were also *intercessory*, comprising *special* intercessions, as for the neophyte in their midst, and *general* intercessions "for all men everywhere."⁶⁾

These general prayers of the congregations we meet also in the succeeding centuries. Says Tertullian: "There we Christians, with eyes uplifted and hands expanded, as being innocent, bareheaded, because we do not blush, and,

1) Acts 1, 14. 24; 2, 42; 4, 24; 12, 12; 13, 3.

2) 1 Cor. 11, 4 f.; 14, 14 ff. cf. 1 Tim. 2, 1—3. 8.

3) Eph. 6, 18. 1 Thess. 5, 17. 25. al.

4) Ἐπειτα ἀνιστανόμεθα κοινῇ πάντες καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν. Apol., c. 67.

5) ... ἐνθά συνηγμένοι εἰσιν, κοινᾶς εὐχὰς ποιησόμενοι ὑπὲρ τε ἑαυτῶν καὶ τοῦ φωτισθέντος καὶ ἄλλων πανταχοῦ πάντων.

6) In compliance with 1 Tim. 2, 1—3.

lastly, without a prompter, because from our hearts, we pray. We are all praying always for all emperors, that their lives may be long, their reign secure, their families safe, their armies brave, their senate faithful, their people honest, all the world quiet, and whatever a man or emperor may desire."¹) And Cyprian: "We make public and common prayer, and when we pray, we do not pray for one person only, but for the entire people."²) In the Apostolic Constitutions we find extensive general prayers prescribed, with intercessions for the catechumens, the neophytes, the church universal and the local congregation, the bishops and other ministers of the church, the children of the congregation, the sick, travelers by land and water, those under persecution and their persecutors, the unconverted and erring, the peace of nations, etc.

Later on, when in the Roman church the Mass with its pompous paraphernalia had taken the place of Christian worship, the intercessory petitions were also embodied in the Canon of the mass, not as a prayer of the congregation, but as an intercession of the priest officiating between the people and God. But when in the church of the Reformation public worship was purified and reconstructed according to the doctrine of Christ and the apostles and the example of the primitive church, public prayer was restored to its proper dignity. The place commonly assigned to the general prayer was, as it had been in the ancient church, between the sermon and the celebration of the Lord's supper. Some of the Liturgies prescribed that after the sermon the pastor should appear at the altar and chant the Litany, the

1) *Illuc sursum suspicientes christiani manibus expansis, quia innocuis, capite nudo, quia non erubescimus, denique sine monitore, quia de pectore, oramus. Precantes sumus omnes semper pro omnibus imperatoribus, vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, et quaecumque hominis et caesaris vota sunt. Adv. Gent., c. 30.*

2) *Publica est nobis et communis oratio, et quando oramus, non pro uno, sed pro toto populo oramus. De orat. m., p. 265.*

congregation singing the responses. But the custom which more generally prevailed was the reading of the general prayer by the Pastor after the sermon and from the pulpit, special intercessory prayers for the communicants of the day, mothers recently confined, etc., being annexed, and the entire continuous act of common supplication closing with the Lord's prayer. The significance of the custom of indicating the beginning, the progress and the close of the Lord's prayer by three taps of a church bell is that of an invitation to the absent members of the congregation to join in this common sacrifice.

A shorter form of public prayer is the *Collect*, of which an ancient author says: "Collect we call a prayer in which the needs and perils, wishes and desires of the entire people or church are, as it were, collected and carried before God by the priest, who, accordingly, says, 'Let us pray,' as if he would invite those who are present to make this prayer with united desires and spirits."¹⁾ The *Collectio* with the preceding "*Oremus*" appears as early as the fifth century. In the Gregorian mass but one collect was assigned to each service before the Scripture lesson; but the time came when three, four, even seven collects in succession were sung, in Latin, of course, the last one as unintelligible to the congregation as the first. Luther reduced the collects before the Epistle to one, and in this most of the Liturgies have followed him; German was prescribed throughout the German Lutheran church as the language of public prayer, and the *Amen* was not left to the pastor, nor to the choir, but assigned to the congregation, to whom the invitation, *Lasst uns beten*, "Let us pray," before the collect, was directed. In the services without communion, another collect took

1) "Collecta dicitur oratio, in qua sacerdos totius populi vel ecclesiae necessitates et pericula, seu vota et desideria, *quasi collecta*, deo repraesentat, unde dicit: Oremus, quasi adstantes invitet ad hanc orationem conjunctis votis animisque faciendam."

the place of the *Postcommunio* before the *Benediction* in many of the churches.

The collects were and, in many Lutheran churches also of this country, are chanted by the Pastor, his face being turned toward the altar, and the congregation, having by the words "Let us pray," which invariably precede the collect, been invited to unite in the prayer uttered in the people's name, closes with *Amen*.

That the congregation, appearing before God in supplication, should appear with due veneration as well as with full confidence, is of the nature of Christian prayer, and it is but proper that the attitude of the heart should also seek expression in some visible attitude of prayer which may be looked upon and observed as a feature of churchly decorum. St. Paul recommends such decorum in his first epistle to the Corinthians,¹⁾ and endorses an attitude of prayer which appears to have been largely, perhaps generally, customary in his day, when he says: "I will therefore that men pray everywhere, lifting up holy hands, without wrath and doubting."²⁾ From the passages quoted above from Justin and Tertullian we learn that in the second century the congregation stood during prayer with heads uncovered, faces and eyes uplifted and hands expanded. On the *dies stationum*, Wednesdays and Fridays, it was customary to kneel in prayer. In the ninth century, Pope Nicolaus I ordained that prayer should be offered "*junctis manibus, digitis compressis, compositis palmis*," or, as we would say, "with folded hands." The Lutheran church has retained this attitude of submission, as also the practice of standing during prayer, except on special occasions, as on days of humiliation or during confession before communion, when kneeling was in many churches recommended. Another custom very generally observed in the German Lutheran church is that when in public prayer the name of Jesus is pronounced,

1) 1 Cor. 11, 4—16.

2) 1 Tim. 2, 8.

the women bend their knees and men bow in reverence; the same observance accompanies the words, "*The Lord*" in the Aaronitic Benediction.

As a particular kind of sacrifices of the lips those of confession have been mentioned.¹⁾ That a congregation of Christians assembled in public worship should also make a formal profession of the Christian faith, is certainly meet and right, and the Lutheran church has retained the mediaeval practice of repeating the Christian Creed in the public services of the congregation. At first, the *Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum*, which had been the traditional *Credo* in the Roman mass, was generally preferred, and only exceptionally the Apostles' creed or the so-called Athanasian was recommended or permitted. At present, the Apostles' creed is generally used where the confession of faith is read by the Pastor at the altar. But where the confession is sung by the congregation, Luther's metrical translation of the Nicene creed or the shorter form by Tob. Claussnitzer is generally sung after the reading of the Gospel lesson and before the sermon, according to Luther's recommendation of 1526: "After the Gospel the whole congregation will sing the creed in German."²⁾

But also beside the singing of the Creed, congregational singing is extensively practiced in our Lutheran services, prayer, praise and thanksgiving being in this eminently appropriate manner offered forth as the common sacrifice of those who are gathered together as a worshipping congregation. That the Christian church was a singing church in the apostolic age appears from such exhortations as: "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom; teaching and admonishing *one another in psalms and spiritual songs*;"³⁾ and: "Be filled with the spirit, speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs."⁴⁾ Congregational singing is mentioned in Pliny's

1) Cf. Heb. 13, 15.

2) Luther's "Deutsche Messe."

3) Col. 3, 16.

4) Eph. 5, 18, 19.

epistle to Trajan,¹⁾ and Tertullian specifies the singing of psalms when he enumerates the acts of public worship.²⁾ Basilus M. knows of various kinds of singing as practiced in the nocturnal services of his church. In a treatise directed to the clergy of Neo Caesarea he says: "First they sing in two divisions alternately. Then they leave the intonation of the song to one person, and the rest join in the responses. . . . Then, at daybreak, they all together, as with one mouth and out of one heart, sing the penitential psalm." Here we have *antiphonal*, *hypophonous*, and *symphonic* singing. Antiphonal singing was practiced in the eastern and in the western church; Augustine heard it at Milan. For the hypophonous chant a special office was introduced, that of the *ψαλμωδός*, *ψάλλων*, *ψάλτης*, or *ψῆδός*, who led in this form of psalmody. In our churches, the responsive singing of psalms is still practiced here and there; and the *versicle* before the collect is also sung hypophonously, the Pastor intonating, and the congregation chanting the responses. The Litany in hypophonous rendition has already been mentioned. By far the most appropriate mode of congregational singing is that which is also most generally and extensively practiced in our church, symphonic singing in one great chorus of the entire congregation, all voicing forth as with one mouth and from one heart the petitions, praises and thanks, lamentations and exultations, of the pilgrim church on earth. It was chiefly Luther who restored to the church of the Reformation the enjoyment of this form of worship, of which Rome had deprived the Christian people by turning what singing was embodied in the execution of the Mass over to the choir, the congregation being condemned to inactivity and the enjoyment of the doubtful privilege of listening to the Latin *Kyrie* and *Gloria* and *Graduals* and *Sequences* of which the people

1) Plin. Sec. Epp. X, 97: *Carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem.*

2) *De anima*, c. 9.

understood little or nothing. In providing for the German church a supply of hymns to be sung by the congregations, Luther was as in other respects, only even more conspicuously, the conservative reformer, availing himself of whatever had been handed down from earlier days, not even rejecting what the dark ages had brought forth, scanty and in need of correction as it might be. He versified Old Testament psalms and New Testament hymns, as Pss. 46, 67, 128, Simeon's song, Luke 2, 29—32; translated gems of early Latin sacred poetry, adapted some of the few German hymns which he found available, added new hymns of his own composition, and encouraged others to contribute to the common treasury of Christian song. The tunes were, likewise, either adapted or composed, and here too Luther set the example and showed the way. He was also the compiler of the first hymnbooks for the church of the Reformation; in the year of his death 47 Lutheran hymnbooks had been published, and the number of hymns steadily increased. It lies beyond the scope of this article to point out the difference between the hymns of the era of the Reformation and those of the XVII and XVIII centuries; suffice it to say that the former answered far more than the latter the purpose for which Luther's hymns were intended and eminently qualified, to be forms of prayer and confession to be sung by the congregation in public worship. Those hymns and their melodies became the possessions of the church in a peculiar way; they were fixed in the minds of men, women and children, who learned them in the family circle, in the schools and public services, never to forget them. The hymnbooks were by no means intended for the people, but for the cantors and school teachers, while the people sang from memory only. Even as late as the second half of the XVII century a layman who appeared in church with a hymnbook would be sure to attract attention and occasion remarks. To this day the memorizing of a canon of church hymns is looked upon as an important part of the regular

curriculum in our Lutheran parochial schools; a fair proficiency in music is looked upon as an important part of the education of our school teachers, and it would be a serious mistake on the part of the teacher if he looked upon his musical training chiefly as a preparation for the position of an organist and the leader of the church choir. It is not the management of the organ so much as the management of the school whereby the teacher will secure good congregational singing, and it can be truly said that the singing of our Lutheran congregations with well conducted parochial schools is good.

Yet the stress laid upon congregational singing should not result and has not in the earlier history of our church resulted in the abolition or neglect of the church choir. There are to-day stored away treasures of classical church music, composed by Lutheran masters, which might supply the church choirs of all christendom with music of the highest order, of unrivaled beauty, sweetness and grandeur, but little known even within the Lutheran church, and waiting for the hand that will brush away the mold and cobwebs and show this generation what Lutheran choir music is and of what adaptation to present wants it is capable.

The *organ* has also been retained in the Lutheran churches; but while the value of this "queen of musical instruments" for beautifying in a becoming way the religious services of the congregation was duly appreciated, and the highest degree of excellence both in composing for and in performing on the organ was reached in the Lutheran church, yet our church has not forgotten that the chief beauty of divine worship must ever be the Gospel of Christ and the sacrifices of human hearts and lips. In many Lutheran churches the organ was silenced during certain seasons, as from the second Sunday in Advent to Christmas, from *Laetare* to Easter; in some churches the organ is permitted to accompany the singing of the congregation, but all preludes and interludes are omitted, on such days as

Good Friday or throughout the Lenten season, and the omission as well as the resumption of the instrumental adornment of the services at appropriate times is very impressive and suggestive.

There is a group of sacrificial acts of public worship which we have only incidentally touched upon. They cluster round the sacramental essentials of the eucharist, partly preceding, partly following, and partly entering in between them. They are the *Preface*, the *Sanctus*, the *Lord's Prayer*, the *Agnus Dei*, the *Words of distribution*, the *Communion Hymn*, and the *Postcommunio*.

The *Preface* is of remote antiquity. Cyprian describes it when he says: "The priest before the prayer prepares the minds of the brethren by premising the *preface*, saying: '*Lift up your hearts!*' that the people, answering: '*We have lifted them up to the Lord,*' may be exhorted that they must think of nothing but the Lord."¹) And St. Augustine is still more explicit on the subject, saying: "First after prayer you are exhorted *to lift up your hearts*. This behoves the members of Christ. Therefore, responding to the words, '*Lift up your hearts,*' you will say: '*We have lifted them up to the Lord.*' Then the bishop or officiating presbyter, when the people have responded: '*We have lifted up our hearts to the Lord,*' goes on and says: '*Let us give thanks unto our Lord God;*' and you give consent, saying: '*It is meet and right.*'"²) Of the prefatory prayers following these exhortations and responses a great variety had

1) Sacerdos ante orationem Praefatione praemissa parat fratrum mentes dicendo: "*Sursum corda!*" ut dum respondet plebs: "*Habemus ad Dominum,*" admonetur nihil aliud se quam Dominum cogitare debere. *De orat. Dom.*

2) Primo post orationem admonemini, "*Sursum habere cor.*" Hoc decet membra Christi. — Ideo cum dicitur, "*Sursum cor!*" respondebitis: "*Habemus ad Dominum.*" — Ideo sequitur episcopus vel presbyter qui offert et dicit, cum responderit populus: "*Habemus ad Dominum sursum cor*": "*Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.*" Et vos attestamini: "*Dignum et justum est,*" dicendo. — *Serm. 227.*

obtained recognition in the days of Gregory I, who reduced them to one common form and one form for each of the three Christmas services, one for Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Peter and Paul's, and St. Andrew's respectively.

Luther had in his *German Mass* of 1526 omitted the Preface and substituted a paraphrase of the Lord's prayer and an exhortation to the communicants. But the venerable antiquity and the liturgical beauty of the Preface recommended its retention, and hence we find both the Preface and Luther's Exhortation in some of the Lutheran Liturgies; others alternate, giving the Exhortation for ordinary Sunday services and the Preface for the high festivals. Later on the use of the Preface generally prevailed. The forms of the Preface adopted were generally translations and modifications of the old Gregorian forms. They begin with the *Salutation*, "*The Lord be with you.*" — "*And with thy spirit,*" and close with an exhortation to join in a song of praise with the angels and archangels and all the heavenly host, whereupon the choir, or the congregation, or both, respond with the *Sanctus*.

The *Sanctus* also was handed down from the early church. Tertullian has it in immediate connection with the Preface. The synod of Vaison, A. D. 529, ordained that the *Sanctus* be sung in all, even the *requiem* masses, "because so sweet and desirable a song, though it were possible to sing it day and night, could not engender disgust."¹) The traditional Latin form of the *Sanctus*: — "*Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus Zebaoth; pleni sunt coeli et terra gloria tua; Hosanna in excelsis. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini; Hosanna in excelsis*" — was retained in some parts of the Lutheran church in connection with the Latin Preface, sung by the choir. For the congregation

1) "*Quia tam dulcis et desirabilis vox, etiamsi die noctueque dici posset, fastidium non potest generare.*"

Luther in the *German Mass* substituted his "*Jesaia dem Propheten das geschah*," after Is. 6. But in the course of time a literal translation of the old Gregorian text obtained the prevalence in the Lutheran church, and the sublime meaning of the *Preface* and *Sanctus*, especially in the form now in very general use, is evidently this: 'The congregation, about to celebrate the communion of the church militant with Christ, the King of Zion, is conscious of her inheritance on high with the church triumphant and the heavenly host assembled about the throne of glory and majesty, and in exultant joy and blissful anticipation of the life to come voices forth her assurance of a blessed communion with the congregation above.

The *Lord's Prayer* is mentioned together with the sacrament by Cyprian when, speaking of the unworthiness of a fallen priest to celebrate the eucharist, he says: "Or how can he think his hand worthy of being laid upon the sacrifice of God and the Lord's prayer." ¹⁾ And St. Augustine says: "Thereupon, after the consecration of the sacrifice of God, because he would have us be his sacrifice, we say the Lord's prayer." ²⁾ Here and elsewhere Augustine speaks of the Lord's prayer as following the act of consecration, and this order was, after some variation in parts of the church, established for the Roman church in the Gregorian mass, which contained the Lord's prayer with a previous "Let us pray," and without the doxology. All this Luther retained in his *Formula Missae* of 1523. But in his *German Mass* he had removed not only the Preface preceding, but also the Lord's prayer following the words of institution, and substituted for the Preface a paraphrase of the Lord's prayer with an admonition to the communicants. Few churches, however, followed him to the full length of these

1) Aut quomodo putat manum suam transferri posse ad Dei sacrificium et precem Domini?

2) Deinde, post sanctificationem sacrificii Dei, quia nos ipse voluit esse sacrificium suum, dicimus orationem dominicam. *Serm.* 227.

changes. Even such as adopted the paraphrase and admonition restored the Lord's prayer to its place near the words of institution, generally without the doxology. In many churches, and in most of the later Liturgies, the Lord's prayer had and has its place before the words of institution, the congregation singing the doxology.

The *Agnus Dei* is not of quite so early a standing in the eucharistical liturgy as the Preface, Sanctus, and Lord's prayer, though it was early in use among the oriental Christians as a morning song. It found its way into the Latin church under Gregory I, and in a Breviary of the eighth century we find it in the liturgy of the mass. According to the *Liber Pontificalis* it was assigned its place during the *fractio panis*, the breaking of the bread preparatory to its distribution, by Pope Sergius toward the close of the seventh century. Later, when the breaking of all the bread was discontinued, and the *fractio panis* consisted only in the breaking of one wafer, a particle of which was dropped into the chalice, the *Agnus Dei* was transferred to the end of the act of consecration and before the *Pax*, and there the *Ordo* has it to this day. The Latin form in general use since the XI or XII century is: *Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi: miserere nobis. Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi: miserere nobis. Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi: dona nobis pacem*. Luther recognized the meaning of this song as an act of confession and praise in compliance with Christ's injunction: "This do *in remembrance of me*," and the words of St. Paul: "As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come."¹) In the *German Mass* he also mentions the "German *Agnus Dei*" among the songs during the act of distribution. Some of the Lutheran Liturgies prescribed that the *Agnus Dei* be

1) 1 Cor. 11, 26. Cf. Luther, Erl. 23, 191: "Sonderlich dient das *Agnus* über alle Gesänge aus der Massen wohl zum Sacrament; denn es klärlich daher singt und lobt Christum, dass er unsere Sünden getragen habe, und mit schönen kurzen Worten das Gedächtniss Christi gewaltiglich und lieblich treibt."

sung by the choir after the Lord's prayer following the words of institution, and before the *Pax*; others, placing the Lord's prayer before the words of institution, place the *Agnus Dei* after the latter; still others follow Luther in directing the *Agnus* to be sung by the congregation either during or after distribution, and some recommend the longer form, "O Lamm Gottes unschuldig," etc., for or beside the shorter "Christe, du Lamm Gottes."

The *Words of distribution* have often been looked upon as a repetition of the words of institution. But this is a misconception. In the early Christian church the minister distributed the sacramental bread saying: "*Corpus Christi*,"¹⁾ and the communicant responded, "*Amen*," and took the bread. The cup was in its turn offered with the words: "*Sanguis Christi, calix vite*,"²⁾ and again the communicant responded his "*Amen*" as he drank of the cup of blessing. This ancient form is simply a public profession of the mutual faith of both the distributor and the communicant concerning the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament. In the Roman church various forms of distribution were in use; but the synod of Rouen in 879 ordained that the words of distribution should be "*Corpus domini et sanguis prosit tibi ad remissionem peccatorum et vitam aeternam*,"³⁾ and Luther retained this form in the "*Formula Missae*." Several early Lutheran Liturgies prescribe no formula of distribution at all; others give one form, still others, another. Such forms were: "Take and eat, this is the body of Christ which is given for thee.—Take and drink, this is the blood of the New Testament which is shed for thy sins."⁴⁾ Or: "The body of our Lord Jesus

1) "The body of Christ."

2) "The blood of Christ, the cup of life."

3) "May the body and blood of Christ benefit thee unto forgiveness of sins and eternal life."

4) "Nimm hin und iss, das ist der Leib Christi, der für dich gegeben ist.—Nimm hin und trink, das ist das Blut Christi, das für deine Sünden vergossen ist."

Christ, given for thy sins.—The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, shed for thy sins.”¹⁾ Or: “Take and eat, this is the body of our Lord Jesus Christ; may it preserve thee unto life everlasting.—Take and drink, this is the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; may it be a washing of all thy sins.”²⁾ What all these forms have in common is the statement that what is given and taken under the bread and wine in the sacrament is the body and blood of Christ. That this was indeed the meaning and purpose of these words of distribution was also clear to non-Lutherans, such as the Zwinglians and Calvinists, and hence their early efforts to introduce other forms which should omit the confessional statement. Thus the Crypto-Calvinists in Saxony used the form: “Take and eat; may thy faith in the body of Christ which was given preserve thee unto life everlasting.—Take and drink; may thy faith in the blood of Christ which was shed strengthen thee unto life everlasting.”³⁾ When in the Palatinate Calvinism began to gain ground, the Lutheran form of distribution at once became offensive, and on the deplorable recommendation of Melancthon the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. 10, 16, were abused as a unionistic formula of distribution, thus: “The bread which we break is the communion of the body of Christ,” etc. On the other hand and in opposition to these and other unionistic and Zwinglianizing or Calvinizing tendencies and measures the orthodox Lutheran churches gave still greater prominence and emphasis to the confessional character of the formula of distribution by inserting the

1) “Der Leib unsers Herrn Jesu Christi, für deine Sünden gegeben.—Das Blut unsers Herrn Jesu Christi, für deine Sünden vergossen.”

2) “Nimm hin und iss, das ist der Leib unsers Herrn Jesu Christi; der bewahre dich zum ewigen Leben.—Nimm hin und trink, das ist das Blut unsers Herrn Jesu Christi; das sei eine Abwaschung aller deiner Sünden.”

3) “Nimm hin und iss; dein Glaube in den dahingegebenen Leib Christi erhalte dich in das ewige Leben.—Nimm hin und trink; dein Glaube in das vergossene Blut Christi stärke dich zum ewigen Leben.”

epithet "*true*," and in the Brandenburg-Nürnberg liturgy of 1591 we find the formula: "Take and eat, this is the true body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee into death.—Take and drink, this is the true blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thy sin."¹) A longer form containing the distinctive "*true*" was very generally adopted throughout the Lutheran church, thus: "Take and eat; this is the true body of your Lord [and Savior] Jesus Christ, given into death for your sins; this strengthen [, comfort] and preserve you in the true faith unto life eternal. Amen.—Take and drink; this is the true blood of your Lord [and Savior] Jesus Christ, shed for [you and for the remission of] your sins [on the tree of the cross]; this strengthen [, comfort] and preserve you in the true faith unto life eternal. Amen." Again, when unionism gained its ascendancy and the Lutheran church fell among thieves on the Jericho road, one of the things of which she was robbed was her Lutheran formula of distribution, and the distinctive unionistic formula, which had first appeared in the Ulm Liturgy of 1747 and was recommended by the rationalist Seiler in his collections of liturgical forms, became a prominent feature in the physiognomy of the so-called United churches. It was prescribed in the Prussian *Agenda* of 1821 and in other unionistic Liturgies, and had as early as 1818 been substituted in the edition of the Pennsylvania *Agenda* published in that year for the Lutheran form contained in the edition of 1786. This unionistic formula, "Christ our Lord says," or, "Jesus says, take and eat, this is my body," etc., is the very reverse of the Lutheran formula of distribution, the latter being, as has been stated, what the form of the early Christian church was, an open and explicit confession whereby those who celebrate

1) "Nimm hin und iss, das ist der wahre Leib unsers Herrn Jesu Christi, der für dich in den Tod gegeben ist.—Nimm hin und trink, das ist das wahre Blut unsers Herrn Jesu Christi, das für deine Sünde vergossen ist."

the Sacrament state and profess what they hold and believe concerning the Lord's sacrament; while the unionistic formula is shaped as it is with the intent and purpose of avoiding and declining a distinct confessional statement, but on the contrary leaving it to the individual communicant how he would understand and interpret or misinterpret what "Christ our Lord says." And if, as it avowedly is, the unionistic formula is intended as an open door for mixed communion, the Lutheran formula is consistent with close communion only.

That the celebration of the Lord's supper is an act of communion is furthermore indicated by the *communion hymn*, in which all the communicants as well as those members of the congregation who are not strictly communicants of the day are expected to join, "shewing the Lord's death," as they voice forth the mystery of the redemption by the suffering and death of "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world."¹) That Luther recommended the *Agnus Dei* as a communion hymn during the distribution of the Sacrament has already been said. Of other communion hymns we mention that of Johann Hus, which Luther recast in German form, "*Jesus Christus, unser Heiland*," etc., and the old German hymn, "*Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet*," etc., to which Luther added two new stanzas, retaining the first as he found it. Beside these and other communion hymns contained in our Lutheran hymnals, the hymns commonly known and classed as "Passion hymns" and commemorating the suffering and death of Christ are proper sacrifices of the lips to be offered up by the congregation while the communicants are partaking of the sacred body and blood once offered up in expiation of the sins of the world.

In the mediaeval mass the distribution was followed by a collect, the *Postcommunio*, preceded, as all collects, by

1) John 1, 29. cf. 1 Cor. 11, 26.

the *Salutation*, "The Lord be with you,"—"And with thy spirit." In the Lutheran church the *Salutation* was at first retained before the *Postcommunio*; but later a versicle, "O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good;"—"For his mercy endureth for ever," or: "As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup"—"Ye do shew the Lord's death till he come," hypophonously chanted between the Pastor and the congregation, took the place of the *Salutation*. The *Postcommunio* collect most generally used in our church is the form given by Luther in the *German Mass*, "Wir danken dir, allmächtiger Herre Gott," etc. It is the act of "saying grace" after the Lord's Supper, and is characterized as a thank-offering of the entire congregation by the introductory exhortation, "Let us thank the Lord, and pray," and by the "Amen" of the congregation.

Such are the sacrifices of the lips by which the congregation assembled in public worship exhibits itself as a religious assembly, a church of God in Christ Jesus. But these are not the only offerings which are acceptable in the sight of their common Lord. The Holy Ghost says: "To do good and to communicate forget not; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased."¹⁾ That these sacrifices of the hands were also offered forth in the public services of the apostolic age, seems to appear from Acts 2, 42; 4, 34; 5, 11. 1 Cor. 16, 2. In the days of Tertullian, these offerings of the Christians in public worship were dedicated to the support of the poor, the aged and infirm, the widows and orphans, those who suffered under persecution or calamities, and to the maintenance of the ministry. Being an act of Christian worship, the contribution of such offerings was permitted to none but members of the church, and when a person had been excommunicated, no offerings were any longer accepted of him or her. The *Apostolical Constitutions* expressly prescribe that the gifts should be

1) Heb. 13, 16.

brought to the place of worship. In earlier days the offerings were deposited on the altars; later this was done only with the contributions of bread and wine for use in the Eucharist, while the gifts of money and other valuables were during the general prayer collected by the officers of the church and laid down in the sacristy. Isidorus of Sevilla mentions the gathering of the *oblaciones in templo Dei* as a duty of the subdeacons.¹⁾ The Roman church under Leo I distinguished the festival seasons as occasions for these oblations, and we hear the Bishop in his announcements of the fasts at Newyear, the Quadragesima, Pentecost, the fasts of September and of the tenth month, expressly mentioning and recommending the *oblaciones* for the needy. Still later we hear also of almsgiving on special occasions, as at weddings, and masses for the dead. But the free-will offerings of grateful worshipers were under the sway of Antichrist perverted into meritorious works and imposed taxes and revenues exacted by a man-made hierarchy which was in head and members prolific of a thousand devices for gathering into its insatiable coffers the wealth of the rich and the pittance of the poor. It was one of these devices, the sale of indulgences, which became the more immediate occasion of the movement which was to set the church free from the Roman tyrant and to restore to the Christian people the possessions, rights and privileges of God's own children, the holy priesthood of which we have heard St. Peter speak in connection with the spiritual sacrifices which are acceptable to God by Jesus Christ.²⁾ In the services of the early Lutheran congregations under Luther's own eyes the free-will offerings were practiced. Chemnitz mentions the *collectio eleemosynarum* among the purposes of public service, and these collections became of general usage throughout the Lutheran church. In some churches they were taken

1) *Oblaciones in templo Dei a fidelibus ipsi (subdiaconi) suscipiunt.* Isid. Orig. VII, 12, 23.

2) 1 Pet. 2, 5.

before the sermon, in some during the general prayer, in others during the hymn after the sermon, and in still others after the close of the service during the exit of the congregation. Special offerings by the communicants or at weddings and funerals were likewise customary in many parts of the Lutheran church. The practice of taking special collections of more bountiful offerings on such occasions as the high festivals, Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, on thanksgiving days and harvest feasts, is highly appropriate, since at such times the congregation is by the texts and sermons of such memorial days blessed with a particular measure of spiritual blessings and should thereby be prompted to increased thankfulness and correspondingly more copious sacrifices of hearts and lips and hands. And in these festive services as in all others the most appropriate time for the oblations of the hands would seem to be after the sermon and the general prayer, during the prelude for and the singing of the ensuing hymn, when the grateful heart should be most willingly disposed to such sacrifice.

There remains, now, one more liturgical act to be considered, which must be classed with the acts of the first order. It is the closing *Benediction*, which is pronounced from the altar as a brief summary of the gospel message to the worshiping congregation. In the early church, as appears from the Apostolic constitutions, the Aaronitic benediction was used for this purpose, and Luther embodied a German translation of this ancient announcement of the grace and peace of God in his German Mass, from which it passed over into the various German and extra-German liturgies. In 1532, Luther published an exposition of this "Benediction which is pronounced over the people after mass,"¹⁾ toward the close of which he says: "The Lord bless thee and keep thee, that is, may he graciously give thee body and life and what pertains thereto. To the Son

1) Erl. ed. vol. 36, pp. 155 ff.

the work of redemption is ascribed, which is also touched upon by this benediction when it says: 'The Lord make his face shine upon thee,' etc., that is, may he help thee from thy sins and be gracious unto thee, and give thee his Spirit. And to the Holy Spirit is ascribed the work of daily sanctification, consolation and strength against the devil, and, lastly, the resurrection from death, which is also touched upon and declared, when it says: 'The Lord lift up his countenance,' etc., that is, may he strengthen and comfort thee and finally give thee the victory.'''¹⁾ To indicate that we have and enjoy all manner of spiritual blessings, the grace and peace of God which surpasses all understanding, in Christ crucified, and that such peace of God was procured on the cross,²⁾ the benediction is accompanied by the sign of the cross. And the congregation signifies its acceptance of and acquiescence in this announcement of the grace and peace of God by its *Amen*, which, for the sake of emphasis, is chanted twice or three times and followed by a closing verse, or a doxology, sung by the congregation, and a silent prayer, or the Lord's prayer spoken by the minister at the altar. Thus the congregation has to the last moments of the service sustained its character of a worshiping religious assembly receiving the spiritual blessings of God as offered and conferred by the means of grace, and dedicating itself as a living sacrifice to Him whose we are and whom we serve, and whose is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. A. G.

1) Ibid. p. 163.

2) Eph. 1, 3 ff.; 2, 13—18.

Theological Review.

The age of the Renaissance. By Paul Van Dyke. With an introduction by Henry Van Dyke. New York, the Christian Literature Co. MDCCCXCVII. XXII and 397 pages; price: \$1.00.

In the January issue of the QUARTERLY we have reviewed Dr. Du Bose's work on *The Ecumenical Councils* as an exponent of American progressive theology. Here we have a volume of the same series,¹⁾ widely differing from the former in plan and execution, but likewise typical of its kind. Modern progressive theology is thoroughly untheological. So is this book. It is a clever book, by a clever man, for clever people. It is rich in historical detail. Persons and events are generally well grouped and arranged. The style is brisk and rhythmical. But when a book professes to exhibit an "epoch of church history," the reader is entitled to more than all this. Church history is the history of the wondrous work of God carried on in this world by the Gospel of Christ for the salvation of sinners, and of the progress of this work, the obstacles thrown in its way, the reverses which it encounters, the persons by whom and the favorable or unfavorable circumstances under which it is advanced or retarded. This work of God must ever be foremost in the church historian's mind, no matter how prominent the rival or adverse factors or movements may make themselves. The writer of ecclesiastical history must never forget that the being and well-being of the church depends upon the Gospel, the means of grace, that letters and learning, however brilliant and prolific they may be, can never in themselves secure or restore the prosperity of the church of Christ or lay low the synagogue of Antichrist. Rulers and potentates, high seats and shining

1) "Ten Epochs of Church History."

lights of learning and literature, political and social conflicts and revolutions, the ascendancy and decadence of empires and nations, are of interest and importance to the writer of church history only as they have in their day and in succeeding ages sustained a relation to the Gospel of Christ and its work, and to point out that relation is one of his chief tasks and duties. Why was it that the so-called reformatory councils of the XV century, Pisa, Costnitz, and Basel, while professing to attempt a reformation of the church in head and members, not only failed in the end, but did not even make the slightest beginning of a reformation of the church? Why was Girolamo Savonarola, one of the grandest preachers of all ages, a man of sincere piety, and a valiant impugner of the tyranny of Rome, still unfit to bring about a reformation of the church even where his influence was more powerful than that of any other man? Why were the Humanists jointly or severally, Italian, German, and English alike, the magnificent Mediceans, Reuchlin, Erasmus, Morus, and all their numerous disciples, unable to cope with the mystery of iniquity, that scarlet woman, drunken with the blood of the saints? What was the fundamental difference between Luther and Erasmus, whereby Luther was as truly and consistently as Erasmus was not and could not be a reformer of the church? The answers to these and similar questions must appear on the pages of a work which would exhibit the age of the Renaissance as an epoch of church history. And here the book before us comes short of what it should furnish forth. The great distinctive feature of the period here portrayed is Humanism. But it is a gross misconception to mistake Humanism for a reformatory movement. Our author introduces a long account of the second generation of the men of the New Learning, "because the success of their movement finally brought about the end of the drama in the triumph of reform."¹) This is crediting these "men of the New Learn-

1) p. 145.

ing" with what they have not achieved, because they neither would nor could achieve it. Of the Reformation he says:—

"The Reformation of Religion in the sixteenth century was a European movement, the result of forces which had been working for generations, and the men who made it were also made by it. . . . For one hundred years the transalpine world had asked again and again for the 'reform of the church in head and members' which the Council of Constance had left to the Popes. And when Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., Alexander VI., Julius II., and Leo X. had demonstrated the unwillingness of the Papacy to reform itself, the Council of the Lateran chose that instant to revoke the decrees of Constance and deny the right of the church to reform the Papacy. The loyalty with which the nations of the north had clung, in spite of almost unbearable rebuffs and disappointments, to the venerable institution of their fathers was exhausted. They were weary of patience. At last they were reluctantly compelled to admit that they were confronted, not by an ecclesiastical theory, but by an intolerable religious situation. They abandoned all hope of reform and ripened rapidly to revolution. And the men who could give voice and form to this new desire were at hand among the Younger Humanists."—pp. 340 f.

This is again putting a thoroughly and radically wrong construction upon the Reformation. The humanistic Renaissance was essentially the resuscitation of the classical literature of ancient Greece and Rome and of the spirit by which that literature was pervaded. That spirit was not of God, not Christian, but pagan, either positively irreligious and antireligious, carnal and sensual, or at best imbued with a false religion, that of so-called virtuous heathen, a religion of works, and therefore directly opposed to Christianity, the religion of faith and grace. Thus Humanism might very consistently, as it actually did, join hands with Romanism, which is also a religion of works. Humanism might even, as it was in Leo X, be enthroned on the Roman see, and rule at the pontifical court, as it did for generations; but it could never in itself reform the church of Christ, break the fetters of Antichrist, set the enslaved conscience free, and restore to the bride of Jesus Christ her dignity and inheritance. Luther himself was not freed from the bondage

of popery by Humanism. After his intercourse with the "poets" at Erfurt, yea, with Plautus and Virgil in his hands, he entered the convent where he took those vows and performed those works for which, as he afterwards said, the earth must have swallowed him but for the excessive longsuffering of God, and whence with his Humanism and Romanism together he would have sunk into hell in hopeless despair, if God had not quickened and freed him into life and liberty by the same means whereby the reformation of the church was to be effected: the Gospel of the grace of God, the doctrine of justification by faith. As in the days of Paul, when to the enlightened Greeks the gospel of Christ crucified was foolishness,¹⁾ it pleased God by foolishness of preaching to save them that believed,²⁾ and thus to build his church on the one foundation than which none other can be laid,³⁾ so in the days of the Reformation, when the wisdom of those Greeks of old had been dug up and polished to its pristine lustre, it could not make wise unto salvation any more than before its burial, and God chose to rebuild his church, not by the dialogues of Plato, but by the Gospel of which Paul had not been ashamed,⁴⁾ though to many of the Humanists as well as to other Papists it was both a stumbling block and a foolishness. And thus it was that the Reformation of the XVI century was successful, unlike the reformatory efforts of the XV century, of Jean Charlier de Gerson, Pierre d'Ailly, Nicol. de Clemengis, Emperor Sigismund, not one of whom knew or learned to know that the Roman hierarchy had not only degenerated by abuses, but was wrong and ungodly in principle, a perversion of the Christian religion and an insurrection against Christ, the sole head and teacher and foundation and savior of his church, and that, therefore, a true reformation could not consist in reforming that hierarchy in head and members, but only in rejecting and abandoning it as antichristian

1) 1 Cor. 1, 23.

2) 1 Cor. 1, 21.

3) 1 Cor. 3, 11.

4) Rom. 1, 16.

to the core and incapable of reform. The Reformation of the XVI century was so far from being a work of the Humanists or a result of the New Learning, that it was even in various respects opposed and retarded by humanistic interests and their representatives, by such men as Erasmus and More, and the humanistic spirit in Melanchthon and Zwingli did more real harm to the cause of the Reformation than all the Old School men and Charles V and Henry VIII taken together.

We now proceed to give a number of extracts which will interest the reader and serve as fair specimens of what the book contains.

"The general movement of the human spirit during the fourteenth century, producing patriotism, new theories on the seat of authority, and the desire for freedom, found a special expression for itself in Italy in the beginnings of the New Learning or the movement of the Humanists. This used, by a narrowness of thought and diction, to be called the Renaissance, but is now rightly regarded as only the intellectual centre of that broad movement which affected every side of life.

To define so complex a movement as the New Learning is impossible. It can best be made clear in a sketch of the work and character of Petrarch, the prophet and prototype of Humanism, who died at Arqua, near Padua, three years before the return of the Papacy from Avignon.

His father was a Florentine notary, banished by the same decree with Dante, who finally settled at Avignon to practice his profession in the neighborhood of the Papal court. In the jurist's library were some manuscripts of Cicero, and as soon as Petrarch could read he loved them. Doubtless his father, who destined the lad for the law, smiled approval at such appropriate tastes. But he soon found out his mistake. This youngster with a voice of extraordinary power and sweetness, who loved to play his lute and listen to the song of the birds, was not seeking in the works of the great Roman lawyer legal information. It was the majestic swing, the noble music, of the Ciceronian Latin which charmed him, and as the years went on he suffered the pangs which have been common in all ages to the lovers of the Muses held by parental worldly wisdom to the study of the law. Bad reports came back from the tutors of Montpellier and Bologna. Reproaches and excuses ended in a parental raid, which

discovered under the bed a hidden treasure of tempting manuscripts. They were promptly condemned to the flames, and only the tears of the lad saved a Virgil and one speech of Cicero, to be, as the father said, smiling in spite of himself at the desperate dismay of the convicted sinner, one for an occasional leisure hour, the other to help in legal studies. And Virgil and Cicero became to Petrarch lifelong companions. The copy of the *Aeneid* thus saved from the flames had been made by his own hand, and he wrote in it the date of the death of his son, his friends, and the woman he loved. It was stolen from him once, and returned after ten years, and he wrote in it the day of its loss and the day of its return. To Petrarch Virgil was "lord of language," a character noble as his genius, half poet and half saint, a divine master. But to say this was only to repeat Dante, and Petrarch did little for the influence of the Mantuan—could not, indeed, escape from that habit of allegorical interpretation which thought of a poet as a riddle-maker whose object was not to make truth clear and beautiful, but obscure.

But Petrarch may with truth be called the modern discoverer of Cicero. Not, indeed, that Cicero's name was before unknown, but that Cicero's works were little read and still less understood. Many of his finest pieces had not been seen for generations. And from his youth, Petrarch followed like a sleuth-hound every possible trace of a lost manuscript. When, riding along the roads, he caught sight of an old cloister, his first thought was, 'is there a Cicero manuscript in the library?' In the midst of a journey he suddenly determined to stop at Liege, because he heard there were many old books in the city, and his reward was two unknown speeches of Cicero. He not only hunted himself, but as his circle of friends and his means increased, he spread his efforts to Germany, Greece, France, Spain, and Britain—wherever any chance of a find was suggested. Of course he had his disappointments. Once he imagined he had secured the lost 'Praise of Philosophy'; but though the style was Cicero's, he could read nothing in it to account for Augustine's enthusiasm, which had first put him on the track. At last the doubt was ended, for he found a quotation in another writing of Augustine's which was not in his manuscript. He was the victim of a false title. And when he discovered that what he had was an extract of the '*Academica*,' he always afterwards rated it as one of the least valuable of Cicero's works. Then he thought that he had found the treatise on 'Fame.' He loaned the volume which contained it, and neither he nor the world has ever seen it since—surely the costliest book loan on record.

But no disappointment damped his enthusiasm. When the manuscript of Homer was sent to him as a present from Constantinople, though he could read no word of Greek, nor find any one who could, he knew that this was the book beloved of Horace and Cicero. He took it in his arms and kissed it. How great must have been his joy when, in the cathedral library of Verona, he unexpectedly stumbled on an old half-decayed manuscript of some of Cicero's letters! He was sick and tired, but he would trust his frail treasure to no copyist. He announced his find to Italy in an epistle to Cicero himself, and henceforth he enriched literature by a stream of citations whose source, warned by experience, he never trusted out of his own hands. Why he never allowed it to be copied during his lifetime can best be explained by those collectors who dislike to have replicas made of their pictures. Nor was he content with the writings of antiquity. The portraits of Roman emperors on coins excited his imagination. Others had collected coins and medals as rarities, but he was the first modern to understand their value as historical monuments.

From the great men of the past he learned to exercise a common-sense criticism on the methods and results of the traditional learning of his time. In scorn and enthusiasm he flung himself with all his powers on the scholastic system of instruction, and denounced the universities as nests of ignorance, adorning fools with pompous degrees of master and doctor. In particular he objected to the division of the disciplines. If he were asked what art he professed he would answer that there was but one art, of which he was a humble disciple: the art of truth and virtue, which made the wisdom of life. But he was not content with vague denunciation. The professors of every discipline—history, arithmetic, music, astronomy, philosophy, theology, and eloquence—heard his voice accusing them of an empty sophistry without real relation to life.

The objects of his first and bitterest attacks were astrology and alchemy, whose pretensions flattered the ear of princes and dazzled the hopes of peasants. He denounced astrology, stamped with the authority of a teacher's chair at Bologna and Padua, as a baseless superstition, and, in the very spirit of Cicero toward the augurs, related with glee how a court astrologer at Milan had told him that, though he made a living out of it, the whole science was a fraud. He accused the physicians also of being charlatans. When Pope Clement VI. was ill, Petrarch wrote a letter warning him against them. He was wont to say that no physician should cross his threshold, and when custom compelled him to receive them in his old age,

wrote with humor of his persistence in neglecting all their orders and his consequent return to health. But he made far more effective attacks than any mere witty expression of a personal mood. To his friend the distinguished physician Giovanni Dondi he gave strong reasons for his scorn of the ordinary practitioner. He did not deny that there might be a science of medicine. He suggested that the Arabs had made a beginning of it. But he denied to the empirics and pretenders who were imposing on the people by wise looks and long words every title of real learning. And he pointed out as the path to a science of health and disease the entirely different method of modern medicine. The lawyers so hated in his youth felt the lash of his invective. He called them mere casuists, splitting hairs in a noble art once adorned by the learning and eloquence of Cicero, but sunk to a mere way of earning bread by clever trickery in the hands of men ignorant and careless of the origin, history, and relations of the principles of law. And he took a keen delight in pointing out the blunders in history and literature made by the greatest jurist of his time. But it was in philosophy that he came into sharpest conflict with the scholastic method, which hung like a millstone around the neck of learning. To make dialectics an end instead of a means he called putting the practice of boys into the place of the finished wisdom of men. Logic was only an aid to rhetoric and poetry, and ideas worth far more than the words which the schoolmen put in their place. When they hid behind the shield of Aristotle, Petrarch was not dismayed. In the pamphlet 'Concerning his Own Ignorance and that of Many Others' he dared to say that Aristotle was a man and there was much that even he did not know. And he finally asserted that, while no one could doubt the greatness of Aristotle's mind, there was in all his writings no trace of eloquence—a word which took as much courage to cast as the stone from the shepherd's sling that freed Israel.

It was the word of an independent. And this independence, this assertion of his personal individual judgment marks the second service of Petrarch. He was not only a critic of scholastic methods and an instaurator of learning, but he threw a high light on the value of the individual.

We have seen why the mediaeval man instinctively regarded himself as one of a class. The serf or burgher, the noble or ecclesiastic, was a member of a great corporation, and his chances and duties were limited not only by circumstances and abilities, but by obligations joining him to his fellows in every direction. The necessities of a half-barbarous condition had made the social unit, not the

man nor his family, but the community. And the ideal of the feudal system was a single great organization, ruled in ascending stages by a civil hierarchy of overlords, with every detail of life guided and directed by the spiritual hierarchy of the clergy, who bound or loosed the oaths that held society together, directed consciences by the confessional, and, by denying the means of grace in the sacrament, could cast any man out from the fellowship of God and man in this world and the next. Hence mediaeval society lacked the mobility and freedom needed to develop individuality. In those days traveling was difficult. For the most part a man expected to die where he was born, and to do his duty in that rank of life to which God had called him, unless, indeed, his relation to the social corporation drew him from his home on war or pilgrimage. As against the overwhelming pressure of this corporate sense there was little to develop the consciousness of the ego. Even if the man of the middle ages went to the university, traveled, and mingled with his fellows, his mind was still confined. He found there no chance or impulse to measure the heights and depths of his own nature, or to investigate freely the world without.

The literary instinct of Petrarch has presented in dramatic form the moment when he first broke these bonds and realized the value of self. That love of nature which appears in his sonnets in such close connection with his power of self-analysis gave the occasion. So far as we know, Petrarch was the first modern man to climb a mountain for the sake of looking at the view. About the year 1336, when he was thirty-two years old, he and his brother Gerard set out from Vacluse to climb Mount Ventoux. Gerard was evidently very much bored. . . . But Petrarch wrote: 'I stood astonished on the top. Under my feet floated the clouds. . . . Thus gazing, now singling out some single object, now letting my sight range far into the distance, now raising eyes and soul to heaven, I unconsciously drew out of my pocket Augustine's 'Confessions,' a book I always carry with me, and it opened at this passage: 'Men go to wonder at the peaks of the mountains, the huge waves of the sea, the broad rivers, the great ocean, the circles of the stars, and for these things forget themselves.' I trembled at these words, shut the book, and fell into a rage with myself for gaping at earthly things when I ought to have learned long ago, even from heathen philosophers, that the soul is the only great and astonishing thing. Silent I left the mountain and turned my view from the things without me to that within.'

And this dramatic announcement marks the beginning of the modern habit of introspection. Naturally he developed the defects

of his qualities, and complains constantly of a spiritual malady he calls *acedia*. Melancholy, the mood of heavy indifference to all objects of thought and feeling — the malaria of the soul, — had long been known. The early fathers denounced it, and the mediaeval theologians, who saw much of it in the cloisters, ranked it among the deadly sins. But a single trait of Petrarch's character developed this old-fashioned melancholy into the modern *Weltschmerz*. He was the victim of a ceaseless appetite for fame which no praise could satisfy — a passion which tormented most of the early Humanists and spread from them to the whole society of Italy during the fifteenth century. This passion led him constantly to do things he despised and made such a gulf between his knowledge of what he was and his ideal of what he ought to be that he despaired at times of himself and the world.

For no sketch of Petrarch is complete which fails to show him not only as an instaurator of learning and an asserter of individuality, but also as a humbug. Even Napoleon, with the resources of France to help him, could not pose with the ceaseless subtlety and variety of Petrarch. Every strong and true passion of his soul was mingled with self-seeking and self-consciousness. He was a lover of nature and of solitude; but he always took care to select an accessible hermitage and to let all the world know where he was. When he dwelt in his house by the fountain of Vaucluse, with an old house-keeper and two servants to look after him, and an old dog to lie at his feet, he describes his life among the simple peasants as that of one busily content with watching the beauties of nature and reading the words of the mighty dead, who was willing to let the striving world wag on as it will. But in reality it was that of a scholar listening eagerly to every echo of his fame which reached him from the outer world, and counting the pilgrims drawn to his solitude by his growing reputation. He was fond of beginning his letters, 'in the stillness of the dusky night,' or, 'At the first flush of sunrise,' and perfectly conscious of the interest aroused by the suggested figure of the pale student bent over his books in mysterious and noble loneliness. With that curious weakness which leads inveterate vanity to find pleasure in betraying itself, Petrarch has written that when he fled from cities and society to his quiet houses at Vaucluse or Arquà, he had done it to impress the imaginations of men and to increase his fame; which, like all the acts and words of a *poseur*, was probably about half true and half false.

One who thus enthroned and adored his own genius demanded, of course, tribute from his friends. And in all the letters he ex-

changes with his intimates we find that the topic is never their concerns, but always the concerns of Petrarch. He is fond of decorating his epistles to them with Ciceronian phrases on the nobility of friendship. All the great men of antiquity had friends. But he who stepped from the part of playing chorus to Petrarch's rôle of hero did so at his peril. To criticise his writings even in the smallest was to risk a transference to the ranks of his enemies.

His love for Laura was undoubtedly genuine. There is a breath of real pain in his answer to a teasing friend: 'Oh, would that it were hypocrisy, and not madness!' But Petrarch was not unaware that all the world loves a lover. . . . As his fountain of Vaucluse became more beautiful to him because he had made it famous, so he loved Laura more because he had sung his love for all the world to hear.

Petrarch was religious. . . . He is continually denouncing the profligacy of the Papal court at Avignon, whose members deserted their duties at home to live in luxury on the income of benefices they never visited. But Petrarch himself was a priest, canon, and arch-deacon without ever preaching a sermon or saying a mass, residing near his cathedral, or caring for the poor. And no man of his time was more persistent in the attempt to increase his income by adding new benefices to the ones whose duties he already neglected. He who runs may read this in a mass of begging letters, where pride and literary skill ill conceal the eagerness of the request and the wrath and bitterness of disappointment. He was a lover of freedom, whose praises he sang with all his skill. But he shocked even his most faithful friends by accepting the hospitality and making gain of the favor of the Visconti, whose unscrupulous power was threatening every free city of North Italy.

This egotism was fed by such a banquet of admiration as has been spread for few men. The cities of Italy did not wait for his death to rival each other in honoring him. A decree of the Venetian Senate said that no Christian philosopher or poet could be compared to him. The city of Arezzo greeted him with a triumphal procession and a decree that the house of his birth might never be altered. Florence bought the confiscated estates of his father and presented them to the man 'who for centuries had no equal and could scarcely find one in the ages to come;' 'in whom Virgil's spirit and Cicero's eloquence had again clothed themselves in flesh.' Wherever he went men strove who should do him most honor. An old schoolmaster made a long journey to Naples to see him, and arriving too late, followed over the Apennines to Parma, where he kissed his head and hands. Letters and verses in basketfuls brought admiration from

every part of Italy, from France, Germany, England, and even from Greece. Perhaps the most prized of all these symbols of admiration was the bestowal of the poet's crown — a revival of a traditional and seldom-practiced rite. At the age of thirty-six two invitations to receive it reached him on the same day: one from the University of Paris, and one from the Roman Senate. He chose Rome as the inheritor of imperial dignity, the true center of Christendom. Led by a stately procession through the city to the Capitol, he received the crown from the hand of a Senator, delivered a festal speech, and went in procession to St. Peter's, where he knelt before the altar of the apostles and laid his wreath upon it." pp. 20—33.

"Boccaccio was a contemporary of Petrarch's, for he was only nine years younger and died only one year later; but he took toward his friend so entirely the attitude of a disciple that he is always looked upon as a follower and successor. He had neither the greatness nor the meanness of his master. He did not, because he could not, do as much, but he did nothing for effect. He longed for fame, but he scorned riches, not in words alone, but with the pride which several times refused to change the independence of a scholar and a citizen of free Florence to become the favorite of a court. Once only he tried to sit at the table of Maecenas. When the rich Florentine, Niccolò Acciajuoli, became Grand Seneschal of Naples, Boccaccio accepted a pressing invitation 'to share his luck' and become his biographer. But when he was given in the splendid palace of his patron a room and service far below that of his own simple house, the proud poet resented the insult by leaving at once, and answered a sarcastic letter from the Seneschal's steward by the only invective which, in an age of quarrels, ever came from his pen. The plump little man, with his merry round face, and twinkling eyes never dimmed by envy, and a clear wit untinged with malice, lived all his life among the bitterest party and personal strifes, he became a distinguished citizen, and conducted with success three important embassies, but he died without an enemy. His enthusiasms were deep and self-forgetful. When he spoke of Dante, whose poem, by a vote of the City Council, he expounded in the cathedral every Sunday and holyday, his eyes moistened and his voice trembled with wonder and love. He writes to Petrarch with a humble and touching joy in his friendship to one so unworthy, which asks for no return. Petrarch used this feeling, which he accepted as if it were a homage due to him, as incense to burn on the altar of his insatiable egotism; but, after all, he loved the faithful Florentine, and left him by will fifty gold florins to buy a fur-lined coat to wear cold nights when he read late.

Boccaccio is known to the untechnical reader only as the author of the Decameron. The book is the beginning and still a model of Tuscan prose, and ranks him forever among the rarest masters of the art men love best—the art of story-telling. He took his material wherever he could, and it is difficult to believe that to offer some of the tender and pure stories of the collection to those who were willing to enjoy some of the others was not casting pearls before the swine. But we must remember that it was written for a princess by a man of the world, who gives no sign that he is offending against good manners. For there existed in that and for succeeding generations an incredible freedom of speech. Whether this of itself indicates a larger license in living than that which prevails among the idle and luxurious of this age, in which vice is spoken of chiefly by *double entendre*, is hard to decide—at least for those who know the vast distinction between essential morality and social custom. But whatever may be the truth of this comparison, it is certain that Boccaccio had lived openly, after the fashion of the age, the life of a libertine, and it is difficult to see how any moral defense of the Decameron as a whole can be accepted by a serious-minded person. The only consolation under the brand-mark of a Philistine which is certain to follow the confession of such a judgment is that Boccaccio himself thought so; for he begged an old friend not to give the book to his wife, who would certainly judge him unfairly by it, or, if he insisted on doing it, at least to explain that he wrote such a thing only in his youth. In his vulgarity, and also to some extent in his repentance, he is a representative of the Humanists. In every generation, from Petrarch down, many of their leaders were willing to use the utmost skill of their pens in promoting the worship of the goddess of lubricity amid the laughter and applause of Italy.”—pp. 62—65.

“Florence, like London to-day, was the centre of trade and the financial exchange of the world. The most remarkable of her merchant princes and rich bankers was Cosimo de’ Medici. His father, Giovanni de’ Medici (died 1428), left to his two sons, Cosimo and Lorenzo, a fortune acknowledged as 179,221 gold florins. This wealth was enormously increased by Cosimo’s skill as a merchant and banker. The figures will indicate what this means. Lorenzo, who died in 1440, left 253,000 florins, Piero, Cosimo’s son, who died in 1469, left 238,000; and, besides the expenses of living, the family spent between 1434 and 1471 in taxes, benefactions, and public buildings 664,000 florins, of which Cosimo, who died in 1464, paid 400,000. So that, beside the expenses of living, the 180,000 florins of the

grandfather had in less than fifty years gained for his descendants 1,000,000 florins, or one half the total coined money circulating in the Republic in 1422.¹⁾ It was the rule, so well illustrated in the history of some American families, that money skilfully handled breeds money; but more than two thirds of the increase of two generations of the Medici accrued to the public benefit in taxes, charities, and gifts to learning or the arts.

The relation of Cosimo to his city can be easily appreciated by the Americans of to-day. He was the boss of the little Republic of Florence, then a city of about ninety thousand inhabitants. His family were among the hereditary leaders of the democracy against the party of millionaire manufacturers and middle-class merchants who desired to retain power in order to control the tariff. And they had been very influential in the uprising of 1378, which resulted in the extension of suffrage to the working-man. Cosimo was simple in his habits, given to hospitality, liberal in sharing the enjoyment of the treasures of art and learning with which his palace was filled, generous where it would do the most good, reserved, but affable of speech. Hiding his secrets behind an impenetrable veil of invariable courtesy, he gathered into his hands all the wires that moved Florentine politics, and, seeking no public honors for himself, was nearly always able to control the City Council and quietly shape the policy of the Republic. His hands were free from taking bribes, though he did not scruple to handle for its full value the patronage he controlled.

The Florentine merchant nobility had long been in the habit of protecting and enjoying art and literature. It was natural, therefore, that Cosimo should employ his striking critical taste, trained by reading and discussion, his enormous wealth, his knowledge of men, finished by travel and the conduct of affairs, his correspondence, spread over all countries of the world, in forming collections of books and manuscripts, in employing men of genius, and becoming the leading patron of art and letters in Italy. The most efficient of his friends and protégés in his work was Niccolo de' Niccoli. He was the son of a small merchant of the city, who, inheriting a very modest fortune, abandoned business and gave himself up to the profession of a connoisseur and collector of manuscripts and objects of

1) These figures do not mean much to the modern reader. The florin was worth about \$2.50, but the cost and scale of living are difficult to estimate. In 1460 the Patriarch of Aquileja was called the richest man in Italy. He left 200,000 florins.

art. The stout little man who always dressed with scrupulous care was very fond of society, and the soul of every company; but somewhat feared withal, because of a touch of sarcasm in his irresistibly funny speeches. He was a good deal of a beau in his younger days, and we learn from letters that he and his friend Bruni used to wait round the doors of the churches to see the pretty girls come out. But he never married, because he knew that if he had a wife he must give up collecting books. He was more than consoled by forming out of his moderate income the best library in Florence — eight hundred manuscripts, all rare, some of them unique. When an over-enthusiastic purchase, as, for instance, the library of Salutato, had reduced him for the time to poverty, he hung on to the books and economized until he could pay for them. He had, besides, a small but good collection of gems, statues, coins, and pictures. But he lived no comfortless life of the traditional old bachelor. He loved to see a piece of fine linen, a crystal goblet, an antique vase, some bits of choice pottery on his table.

He was the centre of correspondence for the Humanists of his day, and not to know Niccoli was to be unknown in the realm of letters. He was the greatest living authority on manuscripts, with an infallible eye for an old codex, and an extended practical knowledge of the then unknown science of diplomatics. He was the first collector who let his uniques be copied, and showed a liberality in regard to his treasures absolutely unequalled. At his death it was found that two hundred of his volumes were loaned. His house was always open and was the meeting-place of the literati and artists of Florence. It was also a sort of free school, for sometimes there were ten or twelve young men reading quietly in the library, while Niccoli walked about the room, giving instructions or asking now one and then another his impressions of what he read. And yet he was no easy man to go on with. His spirit was intensely critical, and a friend writes that even of the dead he never praised any but Plato, Virgil, Horace, and Jerome. He was neglectful of formalities to others and exceedingly touchy in regard to himself, and the later years of the peppery old man were filled with quarrels. Cosimo did everything for him. His word was law in regard to appointments and dismissals at the High School of Florence. And it was understood that whenever he was unable to pay for a book he had only to send a note to Cosimo's cashier, who had standing orders to discount it at once — a graceful way of making a gift, for Niccoli died five hundred florins in his patron's debt. He had always been wont to rebuke the jest against religion of the free-thinkers among his literary

friends, and he made an edifying end. His last words gave directions as to what should be done with his books.

Men like these—for Cosimo and Niccoli were only the most skilful of many connoisseurs of art and letters in Florence—searched the world for the remains of classical antiquity. And there was no lack of patient explorers who gladly gave their years to this service. We have a suggestion of such toils and pleasures in letters describing the book-hunts of three young secretaries at the Council of Constance.

Another very useful man in this book-collecting was Giovanni Aurispa, not much of a scholar, but a skilful buyer, particularly of Greek manuscripts. There was great excitement in Florence when he landed in Venice with two hundred and thirty-eight books in his chests. To pay for them he had sold all he had except the clothes he wore, and still owed fifty florins for freight and other debts. Cosimo's brother immediately advanced the money. But the shrewd Aurispa would not visit Florence till, by sending an occasional volume and an imperfect list of his treasures, he had roused the appetite of the literati to fever-heat. Then he doubtless came well out of the speculation.

These collectors and the patrons whose homes sheltered the inheritance of the past were surrounded by a swarm of teachers and writers, and the wandering masters found more dignified successors in the incumbents of new schools founded in many parts of Italy. The greatest of this generation of teachers are Vittorino da Feltre (1377—1446) and Guarino da Verona (1370—1460). In his youth Guarino had gone to Constantinople to learn Greek of Chrysoloras, and when he was called to Ferrara as tutor to the princes of the royal house he had taught in many cities and was sixty years old. But, old as he was, the real labor of his life, that was to make his name gratefully honored throughout Italy, was just begun. He was lecturer on poetry to the University, and the hearers who soon filled the room included men as well as youth, and not infrequently women. But his genius as a teacher was best displayed in his private school. And his house gathered scholars from all parts of Italy, Dalmatia, Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, France, England, and the islands of the Levant. . . . There are recorded instances of men, young and old, who, beginning Greek, could, after less than a year in Guarino's house, read it freely and with pleasure. At the age of ninety he called his sons around him, blessed them, and crowned a life of gentle labor with a peaceful death.

But it is in Poggio and Filelfo that we see the typical figure of the Humanist, the successor of Petrarch, a scholar and writer living

by his knowledge and his pen, not directly through teaching or the sale of his books, but by the presents and sinecures offered by admiring patrons.

Poggio Bracciolini (1380—1459) walked into Florence, like Franklin into Philadelphia, with only a few pieces of silver in his pocket. But he soon found a friend in Salutato, who put him in the way of earning a living as a copyist of classical manuscripts: and his beautiful handwriting brought him plenty of work. Niccoli lent him books and money, and, guided by the advice of both, he hammered out for himself without teachers a mastery of Latin and a passable knowledge of Greek. While still a youth he got a position as secretary of the Papal Curia, which he held for fifty years. But his heart was always in Florence, where his treasure of books was, either stored in his little villa, or under the care of his friend Traversari. There he married, when over fifty, a young girl of eighteen, a match which, to the amazement of all his friends, was the happiness of both. He was forty before the discovery of the Quintilian at St. Gall brought him anything like fame, and it was afterward that he was ranked among the first scholars and stylists of his day. Poggio did not serve Minerva for nothing. He wrote, it is true, essays on 'Avarice' and 'The Greed of Gold,' but both as a curial secretary and litterateur he understood perfectly the art of feathering his nest. His pride was of the vulgar stripe which keeps constantly asking for something, not the noble self-respect of Salutato, which is always content with its wages and stands aside to watch, half in scorn and half in amusement, the universal struggle for the almighty dollar. Until the time when he gave it up and married he was, like Petrarch, a patient hunter of benefices, and no rich patron in Italy need despair of the services of his pen, most skilled in eulogy. Nor did he scruple to skilfully solicit this kind of business.

He was even more skilled in invective than in eulogy. And woe betide the man who in the smallest way crossed Poggio's path. He was pilloried in Latin letters whose style spread them all over Europe. To this rule Guarino was the sole exception. His character awed even the pen of Poggio, and their dispute as to whether Caesar or Scipio was the greatest man was carried on, if not with all the courtesy of an old-fashioned village debating society, yet with what for Poggio was decency. On the other hand, in defending his patron Cosimo against Filelfo he stopped at no personality. No member of his adversary's family was left untouched by dirty accusations. And there was scarcely a crime so mean and unmentionable that he did not accuse his opponent of it. Some allowance must be made, of

course, for the contemporary customs of dispute. But even a tough-skinned generation shrank before the poisoned bitterness of Poggio's darts.

Francesco Filelfo (1398—1481), when he landed in Venice in 1427, had served for five years as secretary to Emperor John in Constantinople, whither he had originally been sent by the Venetian State as secretary of the trade-house — a sort of consul. Two years later he brought his chest of Greek manuscripts and his beautiful young Greek wife, the grand niece of Manuel Chrysoloras, to Florence, to lecture in the employ of the city on Cicero, Livy, Terence, Homer, Thucydides, and Xenophon. He did not stay long. For it is not to be supposed that continual peace brooded over the Florentine garden of the Muses. . . . He went to the High School of Siena, and the war of words passed to knives; for after Filelfo's life had twice been attempted by assassins, hired, as he charged, by Cosimo and his friends, the great Grecian joined with other exiles of the 'noble' party of Florentine politics to hire a band of murderers to kill Cosimo and Marsuppini. . . . But it was not many years before he again sought Cosimo's patronage, promising to destroy all his invectives. And at the end of his life, when he hoped to gain from Lorenzo, Cosimo's grandson, a position at the new university at Pisa, he planned a great eulogy of the Medici in ten books, of which he sent a flattering preface as a sample. And at eighty-three years he was actually recalled to Florence, to die almost on reaching it. Meanwhile he had not suffered. He was always complaining of poverty, even when he had six servants or kept six horses and dressed in silk and fine furs. And his measureless importunity supported this state. For it was actually the believe of the age that the key of the heaven of fame was the pen of the Humanist, and the sale of their eulogies has been well compared with the sale of indulgences by the Church.

For the rest Filelfo and Poggio were pretty thorough heathen. They did not quarrel with the Church, for it was dangerous. . . . But these two most typical Humanists, who sought the glory of men through the glory of letters, and lived by patronage, looked upon the priests as Cicero on the augurs. They dropped altogether the sense of sin which Jesus of Nazareth brought into the world, and when they thus turned to the Greek ideal they did not replace the penitence issuing in the love of God and man of his doctrine by the stoic self-respect which had produced an Epictetus and taught Marcus Aurelius to write that 'even in a palace life might be well lived.' A few of their successors in the New Learning put on the simple garb of that philosophy. But the typical Humanists of this generation, with most

of their successors, set up nothing in place of what they abandoned, and, borrowing one of the worst portraits of classic life, stamped with the authority of culture and good taste those vices which constantly threaten to rot society to the point of dissolution. Filelfo's 'De Jocis et Seriis' has never been printed. His biographer (Rosmini 1808) was ashamed to quote it because of its 'horrible obscenity.' Poggio tells how a knot of choice spirits among the Papal secretaries, all of whom belonged to the clergy, used to meet after work in a remote room of the palace. They called their informal Society 'Bugiale,' or 'The Forge of Lies,' and he collected and published the tales he heard there under the title of 'Facetiae.' It went through twenty-six editions in sixty years. Any one attempting to circulate an English translation through the United States mail could be sent to the penitentiary. Nor was this all. The worship of lubricity became deliberate. In Valla's dialogue 'De Voluptate,' while the formal victory remains with virtue, the freshness and strength of argument are all on the side of the Greek view; and the conclusion, 'Whatever pleases is permitted,' lies near to every reader.

"But in Beccadelli's 'Hermaphroditus,' by which the author won instant fame at the age of thirty-one, the astonished modern reader finds a veritable Priapean orgy. The polished Latin verses, decorated with all the skill of a poet and rhetorician, have for their subject those things which St. Paul says it is a shame even to speak of. It was received with a perfect storm of applause, and gained for Beccadelli the laurel crown of a poet from the hand of the Emperor Sigismund. Not, of course, without protest. . . . But it is certainly a sign of additional corruption to find a crime, now stamped as infamous by every statute-book of Europe, and then punished by death in France, openly praised with more than Turkish cynicism and the applause of men who assumed to lead taste and learning." pp. 124—143.

A. G.

Religions of Primitive Peoples by Daniel G. Brinton, A. M., M. D., LL. D., Sc. D., *Professor of American Archaeology and Linguistics in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.* G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1897. Price, \$1.50.

This is an intensely interesting book. It contains the second course of the "American Lectures on the History of Religions" delivered under the auspices of the association which had also arranged the first course, on "the History

and Literature of Buddhism'' by Prof. Rhys Davis.¹⁾ The book is not a theological, but an ethnological work, and the learned author's principles, both philosophical and religious, are utterly untenable. He says:—

"And here I must mention a startling discovery, the most startling, it seems to me, of recent times. It is that these laws of human thought are frightfully rigid, are indeed automatic and inflexible. The human mind seems to be a machine; give it the same materials, and it will infallibly grind out the same product. So deeply impressed by this is an eminent modern writer that he laws it down as 'a fundamental maxim of ethnology' that, 'we do not think; thinking merely goes on within us.'

"These strange coincidences find their explanation in experimental psychology. This science, in its modern developments, establishes the fact that the origin of ideas is due to impressions on the nerves of sense."—pp. 6 f.

This "startling discovery" of "recent times," startling as it may be, is neither recent nor a discovery, but a fiction as old as materialistic philosophy. Yet this is the principle upon which Dr. Brinton's entire theory of primitive religion is based. He writes:—

"Nowhere, however, is the truth of it more clearly demonstrated than in primitive religions. Without a full appreciation of this fact, it is impossible to comprehend them; and for the lack of it, much that has been written upon them is worthless. The astonishing similarity, the absolute identities, which constantly present themselves in myths and cults separated by oceans and continents, have been construed as evidence of common descent or of distant transmission; whereas they are the proofs of a fundamental unity of the human mind and of its processes." p. 9.

Of course, Dr. Brinton is also an evolutionist in anthropology. We know something about the earliest men and of their religion, having the authentic record of man's creation and of his intercourse with God in his primeval state; we also know that ours is a fallen, degenerate race,²⁾ and that the gentile nations have passed through a process of

1) See THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY Vol. I, p. 230—236.

2) Gen. 3—8.

devolution under the righteous wrath of God.¹⁾ Dr. Brinton, on the contrary, says: —

"I must define, however, more closely what ethnologists mean by 'primitive peoples;' because the word is not used in the sense of 'first' or 'earliest,' as its derivation would indicate. We know little, if anything, about the earliest men, and their religion would make a short chapter. 'Primitive' to the ethnologist means the earliest of a given race or tribe of whom he has trusty information. . . . Hundreds of generations have toiled to produce even their low stage of culture up through others, far inferior, of which we can form some idea by the aid of language and prehistoric archaeology.

"They are therefore not degenerates, ruins fallen from some former high estate, some condition of pristine nobility. That is an ancient error, now, I hope, exploded and dismissed from sane teaching. Even the rudest of savages is a creation of steady, long-continued advancement from the primeval man. — p. 11.

"There must, however, have been a time in the progress of organic forms from some lower to that highest mammal, Man, when he did not have a religious consciousness; for it is doubtful if even the slightest traces of it can be discerned in the inferior animals." — p. 35 f.

But Dr. Brinton is in the same berth with Mr. Darwin in still another respect. Mr. Darwin and all his disciples have failed to find either among the thousand millions of human beings inhabiting the globe in the latter half of the XIX century, nor among the remains of former generations of men, one single individual not essentially Man. And, likewise, Dr. Brinton cannot point to any period of time when, or any inhabited part of the earth where man, as he is actually known, "did not have a religious consciousness." Here are his own words: —

"The fact is that there has not been a single tribe, no matter how rude, known in history or visited by travellers, which has been shown to be destitute of religion, under some form.

"The contrary of this has been asserted by various writers of weight, for example by Herbert Spencer and Sir John Lubbock, not

1) Rom. 1, 18—32.

from their own observation, for neither ever saw a savage tribe, but from the reports of travellers and missionaries.

"I speak advisedly when I say that every assertion to this effect when tested by careful examination has proved erroneous." pp. 30 f.

And it is because of the ample detailed substantiation of these statements that we find this to be a highly interesting book. There are in the various chapters several things beside the general principles to which we seriously object, and we are grieved to think that many have heard these lectures and many more will read them who are not sufficiently armored to be proof against the unwholesome influence such teaching is apt to exert. But there is a good deal of material embodied in the book which can be turned to excellent advantage by a theologian, and which would be all the more enjoyable if presented in better surroundings. A number of extracts will be relished by our readers:—

"This question settled, another arises. The religions thus found everywhere among the rudest tribes, did they take root and exert a deep influence on the individual and society, or were they superficially felt, and of slight moment in practical life?

"In reference to this I can scarcely be too positive. No opinion can be more erroneous than the one sometimes advanced that savages are indifferent to their faiths. On the contrary, the rule, with very few exceptions, is that religion absorbs nearly the whole life of a man under primitive conditions. From birth to death, but especially during adult years, his daily actions are governed by ceremonial laws of the severest, often the most irksome and painful characters. He has no independent action or code of conduct, and is a very slave to the conditions which such laws create.

"It is especially visible in the world-wide customs of totemic divisions and the *tabu*, or religious prohibitions. These govern his food and drink, his marriage and social relations, the disposition of property, and the choice of his wives. An infraction of them is out of the question. It means exile or death. The notions of tolerance, freedom of conscience, higher law, are non-existent in primitive communities, except under certain personal conditions which I shall mention in a later lecture. . . .

"Let us take as an example the Dyaks of Borneo. A recent observer describes them as utter slaves to their 'superstitions,' that is, to their religion. 'When they lay out their fields, gather the harvest,

go hunting or fishing, contract a marriage, start on an expedition, propose a commercial journey, or anything of importance, they always consult the gods, offer sacrifices, celebrate feasts, study omens, obtain talismans, and so on, often thus losing the best opportunity for the business itself.'

"This is equally the case with most savage tribes. Mr. J. Walter Fewkes informed me that it was a severe moral shock to the Pueblo Indians to see the white settlers plant corn without any religious ceremony. . . . — pp. 37—39.

"The word to the god is Prayer. It is a very prominent and high universal element in the primitive religions. The injunction 'Pray always' is nowhere else so nearly carried out. Captain Clark, an officer of our army with the widest experience in Indian life, writes: 'It seems a startling assertion, but it is, I think, true, that there are no people who pray more than Indians. Both superstition and custom keep always in their minds the necessity for placating the anger of the invisible and omnipotent power, and for supplicating the active exercise of his faculty in their behalf.'

"In fact, Prayer may be said to be the life of the faith of savage tribes, and it is so recognized by themselves. According to the legends of the Maoris of New Zealand, when they first migrated to the island of Hawaii, they did not bring with them their ancestral gods, but took care to carry along the potent prayers which the gods cannot but hear and grant. . . .

"The earliest hymns and prayers do not, as a rule, contain definite requests, but are general appeals to the god to be present, to partake of the feast which is spread, or to join the dance and continue his good offices toward those who call upon him. Such are the hymns of the Rig Veda, and those of ancient Mexico, which I have collected and published. They are like the *evocatio* deorum of the Romans.

The three forms of 'the Word to the gods,' or Prayer, are those of thanksgiving, by praise or laudation; of petition for assistance or protection; and of penitence or contrition for neglect of duty. All these are common in the most primitive faiths. In all of them you will find the deity appealed to as great, mighty, a lord, a king, terror-inspiring, loving his followers. . . .

As we may expect, most of the petitions in primitive prayers are for material benefits. The burden of most of them is well expressed by one in the Rig Veda: 'O God, prosper us in getting and in keeping!' They ask for increase of goods, abundant food, success in war, and fine weather. . . .

At other times the prayer is for moral control, as in this of a Sioux Indian: 'O my grand father, the Earth. I ask that thou givest me a long life and strength of body. When I go to war, let me capture many horses and kill many enemies. But in peace, let no anger enter my heart.' . . .

In many prayers we find formulas preserved which are no longer understood; and very frequently the power of the prayer is believed to be increased by repeating it a number of times. The prayer choruses of nearly all savage tribes offer endless examples of this." — pp. 103—106.

"The word from the gods is clothed under two forms, the Law and the Prophets.—in other terms, Precept and Prediction. . . .

In the earliest phases of religion, the law is essentially prohibitory. It is in the form of the negative, 'Thou shalt not—.' Ethnologists have adopted for this a word from Polynesian dialects, *tabu*, or *tapu*, akin to *tapa*, to name, that which was solemnly named or announced being sacred, and hence forbidden to the *profanum vulgus*.

The *tabu* extends its veto into every department of primitive life. It forbids the use of certain articles of food or raiment; it halows the sacréd areas; it lays restrictions on marriage, and thus originates what is known as the totemic bond; it denounces various actions, often the most trivial and innocent. . . .

The penalty for the infraction of the *tabu* includes all that flows from the anger of the gods, reaching to death itself." — pp. 108 f.

"The second 'Word from god,' was when it was uttered as a prophecy, a prediction of the future. In this form it appears throughout the world under the innumerable aspects of divination, as oracles, prophetic utterances, forecasts of time to come, second-sight, clairvoyance, and the like." — p. 110.

"The Word concerning the gods. . . . What, indeed, does the term 'myth' itself mean? It is merely the Greek for 'a word,' something spoken, and in this general sense it is used by Homer. Later, its connotation became restricted to what was spoken concerning the gods, the narratives of their doings, the descriptions of their abodes and attributes. . . .

As examples of such notions, I may take the Bushmen of South Africa. They enjoy the general reputation of being the lowest of the human race. They have no temples, no altars, no ritual; yet the missionary Bleek collected among them thousands of tales concerning their gods in their relations to men and animals." — pp. 112 f.

"Look in what continent we please, we shall find the myth of a Creation or of a primeval construction, of a Deluge or a destruction,

and of an expected final restoration. We shall find that man has ever looked on this present world as a passing scene in the shifting panorama of time, to be ended by some cataclysm and to be followed by some period of millennial glory."—pp. 122 f.

"The Creator is often referred to as the Father, the parent, more or less literally, of all that is. . . . We find this in the rudest tribes of North America: and among the sedentary Zunis of New Mexico, it is said of their demiurge Arvonawilona that at the beginning 'he conceived within himself and thought outward in space,' in order to bring nature into existence. . . . According to the myths of Hawaii, it was 'by an act of the will' that their triple-natured Creator 'broke up the night' (Po), and from its fragments evoked into being the world of light and life."—pp. 124 f. A. G.

The Life of Dr. Martin Luther, offered to the Lutheran Church in America by Prof. W. Wackernagel, D. D., translated from the German by Prof. C. W. Schaeffer, D. D. With 45 illustrations. Fourth edition. Reading, Pa. Published by the Pilger Book Store. 1897. Price, \$1.50.

To write a Life of Luther is one of the most delightful tasks an author may select. The subject is among the grandest in all history. The material is abundant and within easy reach. The plan of arrangement is so distinctly laid out by the course of events, every period and epoch so clearly defined, that it is more difficult to go wrong than right. And when the work is finished, it is almost sure to command a fair sale. As a consequence, there is no lack of "Lives of Luther," especially since the quarto-centennial of the Reformer's birth has given a new and powerful impetus to the study of this chapter of history, of which the greatest German of all centuries, the greatest theologian of post-apostolic times, and one of the greatest men of all ages, is the central figure.

And yet there are comparatively few biographies of Luther which deserve to be unrestrictedly recommended. Some of them are not portraits at all, but vile caricatures,

among them such as were not drawn by mendacious papists who have viewed with unclean eyes and bedaubed with filthy hands the object of their aspersions. Others are painfully flat for want of perspective, or printed from an over-retouched negative, sadly impairing the likeness.

The present volume, the German original of which was first published in 1882, is as to form and substance a creditable book. Of the five general topics of historical composition, it cultivates nearly exclusively that of *narratio*, very little of *descriptio*, *probatio*, *relatio*, and *aestimatio* being interspersed. While this is a defect, it tends to secure the advantage of a smoothly-flowing narrative. It is the story of Luther neatly told, and we hope that it may find many readers also in the present edition. A. G.

Sermons on the Gospels for the Sundays and principal festivals of the church year by Dr. Martin Luther. *Translated from the German. Vols. I and II. Rock Island, Ill. Lutheran Augustana Book Concern.*—Price, \$2.50..

Sermons on the Passion of Christ by Dr. Martin Luther. *Translated from the German. Rock Island, Ill. Lutheran Augustana Book Concern.*—Price, 75 cts.

These are in no sense new books except inasmuch as they were recently printed and bound. Luther's House Postil is not a new book, and the three volumes before us are a translation of the House Postil. Nor is the translation a new one, having been first published in 1871 at Columbus, Ohio. The version, as far as we have collated it, is fair, though in some instances the original is not adequately rendered. Thus on p. 17 of the Sermons on the Passion of Christ we read: "From this pit we could not rescue ourselves unless by the help of God." This is not what Luther says, his words being: "Aus solcher Grube, sagt Zacharias, haben wir nicht können kommen, es machte

denn Gott einen Bund mit uns.' The English words would seem to imply that we could rescue ourselves, but not without divine assistance, while in Luther's words this is neither said nor implied. That the "Sermons on the Passion of Christ" were published in a separate volume affords an advantage of which many may avail themselves by procuring this volume for use during the lenten season. But we would warmly recommend that all our English-preaching pastors keep this English House-postil within easy reach when they prepare their sermons on the gospels. A. G.

Bible History for parochial and Sunday schools. *St. Louis, Mo. Concordia Publishing House. 1897. Price, 30 cents.*

This book contains 35 chapters of sacred history from the Old Testament and 44 from the New Testament, composed in words of the English Bible, and illustrated with engravings designed for the publishers. It is a text book for schools conducted by competent teachers, and not a substitute for the teacher. This accounts for the absence of notes and questions and similar "aids" with which many modern text books for religious instruction are encumbered. The book is beautifully printed on excellent paper and substantially bound, a model school-book in every way. The only improvements which we should recommend would be the addition of references to the books and chapters of the Bible whence the various stories are taken, and of a map of Palestine. A. G.

A Week of Dedication in eight sermons. 68 pages. Price, 20 cents.

This little volume contains the "sermons preached at the dedication of the new English Ev. Lutheran church of Our Redeemer" at St. Louis, Mo. The contributors to the

collection are the Revv. pastors M. Sommer, R. Kretzschmar, W. P. Sachs, C. L. Janzow, C. C. Schmidt, C. F. Obermeyer, and C. J. O. Hanser. Five of the sermons are English, two, German. An eighth sermon, the author of which is not named, fails in the exegesis of the word "righteousness," Eph. 5, 9, and says some things concerning the "days of Noah" and the people of Sodom, Gomorrah, and Niniveh, which may or may not be true; and the statement that "hypocrites are sinning against the Holy Ghost" is not tenable. Nor do we believe that St. Paul "had been taught a lesson at Athens." But to our brethren in the ministry we can, with these restrictions, cordially recommend this "Week of Dedication," orders for which will be filled by *Rev. W. P. Sachs, 3443 S. Jefferson Ave., St. Louis, Mo.*

A. G.

The Pulpit.

DEDICATORY SERMON.¹⁾

TEXT: PS. 117.

Dearly Beloved in Christ Jesus:

“The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth His handiwork.” “The invisible things of God from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal power and Godhead.” Nature speaks a plain language. She tells of Him who has made all things. His handiwork, His glory, His power and Godhead are engraved upon the things that surround us. Sun, moon, and stars are set on the canopy of heaven to give light, and to beautify it; grass, shrubs, flowers, trees are planted to clothe the earth; silver, gold, gems, and diamonds lie imbedded in the sluggish earth and insensible rock: each and every one stamped with the immutable glory of its Maker. Go where you list, and you will find the eternal power and Godhead of the Creator recorded in indelible characters. Look at the plains: a vast scroll enrolled over space, fertile soil, producing all manner of precious grain. Turn to the hills and mountains, scraggy and rugged and high, towering into the skies and cleaving the clouds with their proud summits. Go to the river that rolls at the foot of this city, incessantly washing the boundaries of two states and carrying its waters from a cold north to a sunny south. And what do these grand works of Nature tell you, tell every mortal? Do they say they made themselves? No, no,

1) This sermon was preached at the dedication of Grace Lutheran Church of St. Louis, December 14, 1890, by the late Rev. F. W. Adams, and contributed by Rev. O. Kaiser.

they speak of the infinite wisdom of Him whose handiwork they are!

For this purpose they were made, and the object of their being is to show forth the glory of their Maker. Although Nature has been blighted by the disobedience of man, and although she is travailing under the curse of man's transgression, she still praises God by partly fulfilling the object of her creation. Thus the sun praises the Lord by obeying His command and giving light to the earth, moon and stars likewise, and so on down to the birds that fill the air with their warbling music.

We read in the Holy Scriptures of another class of beings whose great work it is to praise God always. They are holy and invisible spirits. "Bless the Lord, ye His angels, that excel in strength, that do His commandments, hearkening unto the voice of His word." "He maketh His angels spirits; His ministers a flaming fire." The angels by executing God's commands praise Him incessantly; and also the song of the redeemed in heaven is a song of praise unto the Lamb that was slain.

You see, beloved friends, the visible world praises the Lord; the invisible world praises the Lord; all creation is engaged in praising God; where is man with his praise? Shall we not praise Him, whom we owe so much, more than the earth, more than heaven, yea, more than the angels of light? Of a truth, we owe praise unto the Lord! Therefore let us follow the exhortation of the Psalmist:

O PRAISE THE LORD!

- I. *For His truth, and*
- II. *For His merciful kindness.*

I.

"O praise the Lord, all ye nations; praise Him, all ye people, for the truth of the Lord endureth forever." God's truth abideth forever. This truth is laid down in the

Scriptures. "Thy word," says the Savior, "is truth." The Bible is God's word; therefore it is truth. God is the source and fountain of all truth. Man may imagine and think, but if his thoughts are not in conformity with the divine mind it is not truth, but falsehood and blank delusion. God alone is truth and has truth, and it pleased Him to dispense truth unto man by nature and by revelation, the latter being infinitely superior to the former. And it is this truth, contained in Holy Writ, that the Psalmist speaks of here. Hence, will you know what is meant by this word "truth," the answer is: God's word, the Bible. Man may not entertain a doubt concerning this, for "all Scripture," the whole Bible, "is given by inspiration of God," and "holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," by the Spirit of God. "Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth." The Bible, not only its contents, but the very words are God's. Shall not man praise the Lord for this precious gift, that He has revealed unto us the truth, His word?

This truth of the Lord "endureth forever;" it is for eternity. Human thoughts perish; the works of great men are forgotten; the dreams of the learned dissolve in vapor; the day dies; time flees; empires rise and fall; colossal structures crumble into dust; everything is fleeting, passing, nothing abiding, lasting, save the truth of the Lord. It was the same in the lovely bowers of Eden, it was the same in Abraham's day, it was the same in the time of David, it was the same at the birth of Christ in poverty, it was the same in the days of Luther, it is the same in this 19th century, it is the same to-day; it knows no change. Years, centuries, cycles, eternities cannot alter it, for it is eternal, "the truth of the Lord endureth forever."

Surely, this truth can never, never be prized too highly by man, for you have here a firm, a lasting rock, upon which you can securely rest; while everything flees away.

Where is anything like it? Shall we not praise God for it? One man will seek repose and contentment in riches, another in honor and high stations, still another in the pleasures of this world. They all follow the unwise man in the parable whose fields brought forth plentifully. To store away what his fields had produced, he tore down his barns and built larger ones, and said to his soul: "Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry." But God said unto him: "Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee." The pillar he rested upon was not the truth, but a delusion that vanished in the hour of death. Such is the case with all that are not built upon the eternal truth of the Lord. But they that are built upon it will praise the Lord for the abiding truth.

This truth is to be proclaimed unto men, to be preached as it has been delivered unto us. And it is for this object and purpose that we have erected this house. It is to be a house of God, where God's truth, and nothing but His truth, is to be heard. This edifice is not dedicated unto any favored dreams, opinions, or ideas, but unto God's word only, that word which is able to save for eternity. Here man is to hear of the abject depravity of his entire nature, that he is vile and naked and blind, yea, "dead in trespasses and sins," and that this wretched condition dates from his birth, yea, from his conception, for "the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth." "Behold, I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me." Man will at this place hear, "The soul that sinneth, it shall die," for it has transgressed God's law. Eternal damnation is what awaits it at the end of a short life on earth. You shall here learn that we *deserve* such punishment, that I deserve it, that you deserve it, that all deserve it, for "there is no difference, for all have sinned and come short of the glory of God." You are here to gaze upon a spiritual disease that is beyond description, a disease

which ruins body and soul, and which makes the sinner an object of God's wrath. And when pining away under the blows of the law, truly penitent, you will here be directed to Him who was wounded for our transgressions, who was bruised for our iniquities, upon whom was the chastisement of our peace, and with whose stripes we are healed. "All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned everyone to his own way; and the Lord hath laid on Him the iniquity of us all." You will here be asked to behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world. You will here be invited to look to Him who shed His blood and gave Himself for you, who His ownself bare our sins in His own body on the tree, and whose name is Jesus, for He saves His people from their sins. Jesus, Savior of sinners, your Savior, my Savior, our Savior. These are the contents of the Scriptures, of God's truth; for Jesus says: "Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me." Since the truth is such a sweet message to sinners, and since this house will be devoted solely to the preaching of such tidings, we owe God unbounded praise therefor. O praise the Lord!

Then, behold, this truth, this revelation, is for all, for every human being. God gave His word not merely to one nation or one people, but for all. Christ's salvation is not held out to a certain number only, but unto every one. As all have sinned, so all are in need of being saved. "God will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth." "The Lord is not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance." "As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live." As salvation is general, yea, universal, we heartily invite all to hear the truth; whether they be great sinners who have gone to unusual lengths in sin, or such as are not guilty of so gross a transgression: all are asked to partake of this salvation in Jesus Christ, and the doors

of this house are opened for all. For our text says: "O praise the Lord, all ye nations; praise Him, all ye people," for the truth, the eternal truth, the saving truth, the universal truth!

From all that dwell below the skies
Let the Creator's praise arise;
Let the Redeemer's name be sung
Through every land, by every tongue.

Eternal are Thy mercies, Lord;
Eternal truth attends Thy word;
Thy praise shall sound from shore to shore,
Till suns shall rise and set no more.

Your lofty themes, ye mortals, bring;
In songs of praise divinely sing;
The great salvation loud proclaim,
And shout for joy the Savior's name.

In every land begin the song;
To every land the strains belong;
In cheerful sounds all voices raise,
And fill the world with loudest praise.

II.

A second cause mentioned in the text for praising the Lord is His merciful kindness which is great toward us, indescribably great. In giving us His truth God has already manifested His mercy towards us. In sending us a Savior, He has given us an infallible token of His grace. In leading us to Him by His Spirit He assures us of His merciful kindness. But He also continues in showering upon us His mercies, by leading us onward in our pilgrimage towards the celestial city.—If this earth were the home of happiness, the seat of bliss, the paradise of glory, we would not need such mercy and kindness. But now what is the earth and its grandeur but a battle-field, the habitation of care, of labor and toil, an immense lazaret, a poor-house, an orphan-asylum, a place of mourning, a wide burial ground:

that is the world. Travail and pain usher man into the world, sin and sorrow follow him, until the grave shall swallow him up. Ah! what, then, is more needed than merciful kindness from on high! And God vouchsafes it unto man in all states and conditions, and it is in the church where you hear of such merciful kindness of our God, for which you owe Him praise.

Or is it not thus? Look at the comfort which is dispensed here. Have you been toiling all the week and eating your bread in the sweat of your brow? Happy man, if you can go to church where you are greeted with the salutation, "The Lord be with you.—Come unto Jesus, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, He will give you rest. Take His yoke upon you and learn of Him; for He is meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls."

If in poverty, pursued by care for food and raiment, the future dark and gloomy, the question ever before you: "Whence shall I obtain bread?"—happy are you, if you can go to your church, where you hear: "Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your Heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they? And why take ye thought for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow: they toil not, neither do they spin, and yet your Heavenly Father clotheth them. Are ye not much better than they? Cast all your care upon Him, for He careth for you. He will never leave thee, nor forsake thee."

Has sickness visited you or your family; is a loved one sorely afflicted; does worry, pain and sorrow fill your heart: can you not rejoice when in your church you hear: "Whom the Lord loveth, He chasteneth.—We must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God.—In the world ye shall have tribulation; but be of good cheer, Jesus Christ, thy Savior and thy God, has overcome the world.—The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us.—And we know

that all things work together for good to them that love God, whether it be pain or sickness, agony or distress."

Do enemies molest you and do you injury in property or body, going about speaking evil of you, bearing false witness against you, slandering your name: is it not a comfort, if in the house of worship you hear: "Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven."

Or has death entered your house, called away a husband, a wife, a child, a mother, and tears have freely flown, and all the comfort and consolation that the world can give, could not console you, where is balsam for the wound? Happy are you if you can go to your church and hear: "Weep not, for thy Savior, Jesus Christ, hath abolished death and hath brought life and immortality to light through the gospel. — Christ is the resurrection and the life, whosoever believeth in Him, though he were dead, yet shall he live, and whosoever liveth and believeth in Him, shall never die. — O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law. But thanks be to God which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ."

Or have you transgressed, committed a grievous sin; is your conscience ill at ease; are despair's talons fastening upon you? Happy if you can go to your church where you hear: "Where sin abounded, grace did much more abound. — Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world. — Jesus sinners doth receive. — The blood of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, cleanseth us from all sin. — Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.

There is a fountain filled with blood
Drawn from Immanuel's veins,
And sinners plunged beneath that flood
Lose all their guilty stains."

Where shall I conclude enumerating the merciful kindness of God towards man, as dispensed in the church! Indeed it is great. It shows man the way of salvation by faith; it points out the path for his feet; leads him onward; is with him, comforting him in all straits, and brings him finally into the home of many mansions. God's mercy unto man is infinite. What a blessing, then, to have a house in which this merciful kindness is freely offered!

Shall we, then, be silent since God has done such wonderful things among us? The earth praises God, the creatures thereon praise Him, the angels praise Him, the redeemed in heaven praise Him: and shall we not praise Him, — we whom He has created, we whom He has saved by the death of His Son, we whom He daily comforts by His truth and merciful kindness; shall we not praise Him? Yes,

Praise God from whom all blessings flow;
Praise Him all creatures here below;
Praise Him above, ye heavenly host;
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

Hallelujah. Amen.

ANNOUNCEMENT.

In compliance with numerous and earnest requests and even impatient demands our Publishing House has decided to proceed with the speedy publication of a school edition of the English Catechism printed in earlier issues of the *QUARTERLY*. The version there submitted has been thoroughly revised not only by the translator, but also by others who have taken a special interest in the work and kindly forwarded the results of their labors in time to be of valuable assistance in the revision. Wherever it could be consistently done, the suggestions were adopted, even in cases where in our judgment the change recommended was an alteration without being a manifest improvement. In other instances, as when words and phrases of the English Bible, of the Westminster Creeds as approved by the American General Assembly, and of Dr. Hodge, had been set down as Germanisms or otherwise defective English, or when "bad angels" had been recommended for "evil angels," we deemed it proper to abide by the original version. Where the latter had "Scripture" or "the Scripture," both of which forms are familiar from the English Bible and the Confession of Faith, the plural form, "the Scriptures," has been substituted because it appeared to be the form preferred by most of the brethren heard from. Many of the recommendations submitted were strictures on the text of the Enchiridion, which, being the *textus receptus* of the Synodical Conference, we did not deem ourselves authorized to touch, especially since a committee of revision has been appointed by the Synodical Conference which will probably report at the next meeting of said body. Several suggestions which would otherwise have been adopted were laid aside because, while their adoption would not, in our estimation, have rendered the translation more exact or more English, it would have impaired the rhythm of the questions or answers. The Publishing House hopes to have the edition in the market in time to make it available for classes of catechumens entering upon their course of instruction in the fall of the year. A. G.

CORRIGENDUM.

At the foot of page 286, "prevail over" should be "yield to."

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